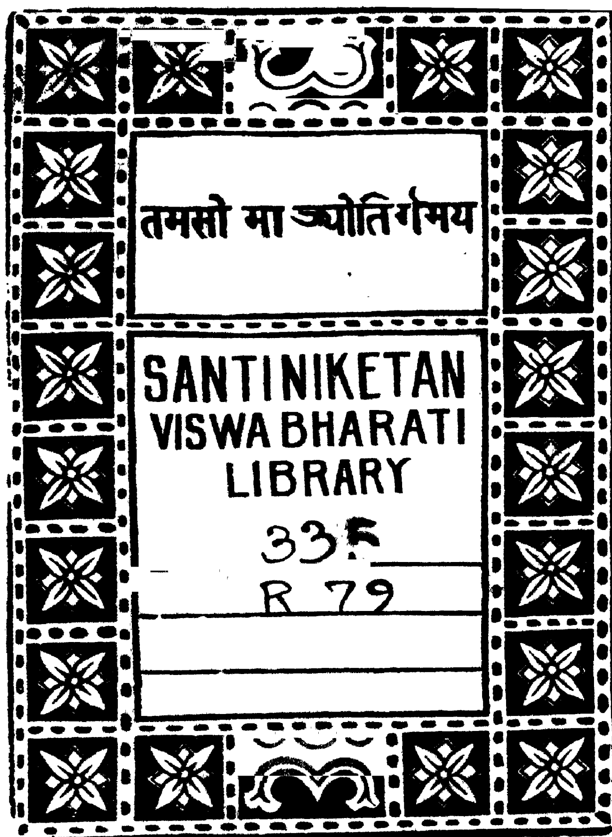


SOCIAL FREEDOM

A Study in the *Application* of the *Ethics of Jesus* to *Modern Social* and *Industrial Problems*

BY

MAURICE L. ROWNTREE, B.A.

To be obtained from the COMMITTEE *on* WAR *and the* SOCIAL ORDER, DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, 136 BISHOPSGATE, LONDON, E.C. 2; *and at the* FRIENDS' BOOKSHOP, 140 BISHOPSGATE, LONDON, E.C. 2

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CONTENTS.

Foreword.

FAMINE in Russia, slow death for children in Central Europe, unemployment and the dread of it at home and abroad, stocks of goods unsaleable because the needy cannot buy, a few minutes' sparring rewarded as highly as the whole life's work of a street-sweeper, careless extravagance and filthy slums—these evils in combination called " Peace "—are we all mad, or what is the explanation?

Our troubles are often attributed to the disturbance, especially by the Great War, of accepted relationships. But surely this view does not go deep enough. It is urgently necessary to discover or re-discover the true foundations on which Society must be built.

One, who, as the world's supreme lover, was also its supreme ethical and religious genius, has already laid these foundations truly.

The original portrait of Jesus, virile, undaunted, joyful, amazingly sociable, the friend of all, especially of the outcast and oppressed, is being rediscovered. We see what we have always longed to see—the lineaments of a live man in a troubled world, of a great hero who is always a sympathetic comrade.

Men have disputed long and fiercely about his godhead, they have painted effeminate caricatures of him with a halo round his head, but they have continually rejected or politely ignored his fundamental message. It was the same in his own day as in this. " Why call ye me Lord, Lord," he protested, " and do not the things which I say? " [1]

The world-chaos in which we find ourselves is due to the denial of the principles which Jesus taught as the *sine qua non* of right relationships between man and man. The gospel or good news, too often interpreted chiefly as the means of getting men and women into heaven hereafter, is now seen first of all to proclaim the bringing in of heaven on earth.

The social message of Jesus lies at the very heart of his gospel, and anyone who is in earnest in seeking a Society which shall flourish and endure must take this message seriously.

As George Bernard Shaw puts it : " I am no more a Christian than Pilate was, or you, gentle reader, yet . . . I see no way

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[1] By the word "genius" in the third paragraph I mean one who has an insight that penetrates far beyond that of the ordinary man. There is in my belief no godward limit to genius, nor any impassable gulf, unless that of wilful sin, between the human and the divine.

out of the world's misery but the way which would have been found by Christ's will, if he had undertaken the work of a modern practical statesman."[2]

The message of Jesus is no comfortable emotion for Sundays and out-of-business hours. It challenges our modern life to its foundations.

To quote H. G. Wells: "This doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven, which was the main teaching of Jesus, and which plays so small a part in the Christian creeds, is certainly one of the most revolutionary doctrines that ever stirred and changed human thought. It is small wonder if the world of that time failed to grasp its full significance, and recoiled in dismay from even a half apprehension of its tremendous challenges to the established habits and institutions of mankind. . . . For the doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven, as Jesus seems to have preached it, was no less than a bold and uncompromising demand for a complete change and cleansing of the life of our struggling race, an utter cleansing, without and within."[3]

Any attempt to understand Jesus must include a study of life as he knew it. To encourage this study is the aim of the first part of the present book, which endeavours to find the answer of Jesus to the spiritual and material hunger of the folk among whom he lived.

We shall view Galilee and Judæa, not only as the "Holy Land," but as territory occupied by the Roman oppressor, the scene of an almost perpetual rebellion, crushed again and again by military force. We shall find that the weary and heavy laden toilers had a lot not without parallel in modern England—the people awaiting, now hopefully, now almost despairingly, the day of their redemption. Zealots, like some modern Communists, determined to meet force with force and drive the oppressor from their midst. To Zealots, ancient and modern, and to imperialist-militarists alike, Jesus offers the astonishing method of conquest—"Love your enemies, do good to them that despitefully use you."

The Galilean carpenter, who had lived the life of the people, and therefore knew it from within, discovered the secret of all true living in the realisation of the oneness of all men with God and with one another. His principles, because they reach the very heart of human life and society, are of value for all time. John Woolman rightly said that "to labour for a perfect redemption from the spirit of oppression is the great business of the whole family of Christ Jesus in this world," and this is the essence of the gospel.

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2 Preface to "Androcles and the Lion," p. viii.

3 "The Outline of History," Bk. VI. xxx.

The oneness of mankind had for Jesus its motive and spring in the oneness of God with all men. And this is shown to be possible by his revelation of a God who is no longer a far-off autocrat, but a supremely social being—a father and mother not only to every Jew (or Britisher), but to every Roman and Samaritan (as we should say, to every German and every Bolshevik).

The hope of mankind lies in realising this oneness as Jesus realised it. But such realisation must be worked out in the details of practical life. The aim of Part II. of this book is to contribute suggestions for this working out. A Social Order which combines the greatest opportunities for individual freedom with the fullest co-operation; an intimate fellowship between man and man; a life centred and completed in God—a God who is so social that he *is* love—these are the foundations of Society as it ought to be. The combination of these three elements is what Jesus meant when he proclaimed the Kingdom.

The Kingdom of God as worked out in accordance with the spirit of Jesus will be the only Society fit to survive, because it is based on the eternal forces which make for life, health and unity. It is a hope glorious beyond the dreams of man.

Personal Note.

The book before you is a social product. According to custom I should mention by name a long list of individuals who have helped me by their criticism and advice. If I do not do this, it is not because my thanks are a whit the less sincere; it is because it would be quite impossible to say who has helped most, and where the list should be ended. All thought which has social value is made possible only by the existence of a social group. The present work is written at the request of a group—the "War and Social Order Committee" of the Society of Friends. A number of members of that Committee, and others outside it, have given to the book ungrudgingly of their time, and much thought has reached its pages by way of their personalities. It should, indeed, be made quite clear that for the result in its final form I am alone responsible. The Committee is, however, responsible for the rash decision not to fling the whole book (literally or financially) into the waste paper basket, despite the fact that it is not at all what they

originally asked me to write. Were it feasible, I would gladly thank all who have given me of their thought and help, faulty as my use of it has been. But how CAN *I thank them adequately? How can I thank the cottagers who, when a thirsty cyclist riding back from an interview with the Committee in London asked them for water, gave him any amount of cakes and tea? How can I thank thousands of other people for similar acts of kindness, on which are based such faith in human nature as this book contains? How can I thank the nameless thousands who have toiled, suffered, struggled and experimented, and thus made possible the joys and opportunities that have come my way? How can I render thanks to him from whom come life and health and all that I have and am?*

The only way by which any of us can at all return our thanks is by clearing the path for the further advance of the generations to come. It is our solemn responsibility that without us they will not be made perfect, but that upon the stepping-stone of our faithful work they can rise to heights as yet beyond our reach.

I have reverted in this book to the Biblical usage of writing the small pronoun when referring to God and to Jesus. There has been so much saying of "Lord, Lord," and so much of turning a blind eye toward the real message of Jesus, that the modern man has continually been repelled because of the unchristianity of his professing followers. Those to whom the moral grandeur of Jesus appeals of itself require no capitals to enforce it (as indeed they find when they read the English Bible). Enforced reverence is abhorrent to the sincere mind: it was so, above all, to the mind of Jesus: and any to whom the character of Jesus does not appeal will only be repelled by the conventional expression of a reverence they do not share. Jesus challenged one of his questioners for his unthinking use of the words "Good Master"; he calls us to honour himself first of all by feeding the hungry and in every way seeking to know God and to do his will. As a great teacher who fathomed the depths of human nature, he drew men to himself and his message by convincing them within their own hearts, and because conviction that is valuable and lasting comes only by experience, there is but one prescription for those who are in doubt—Nathaniel's "Come and see."

PART I.

THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF JESUS.

CHAPTER I.

Jewish Social Life in the Time of Jesus.

Prosperity of Galilee—The Burden of Taxation—Profiteering in the Temple Bazaars—Extremes of Wealth and Poverty—Organisation of trade in Guilds—Charity and Hospitality—The Darker Side of the Picture—"This People that knoweth not the Law."

WHATEVER may be said against creeds or churches, Jesus is, and remains, the most arresting figure who has ever walked this earth.

To understand his social message we need a general knowledge of the social conditions of those to whom it was first delivered.

For example, Jesus taught against anxiety for the morrow and the laying up of treasures upon earth. How far, when this message was delivered, was life in Palestine secure for the poorer section of the people? Again, he refused to adopt the Zealot policy of armed revolt against the Roman oppression. Could a violent revolt against Rome have succeeded, and if it had, would it have brought a greater liberation than was actually effected by the policy of Jesus? The present chapter will endeavour to answer the first of these questions; the second is dealt with in Chapter IV.

PROSPERITY OF GALILEE.

First century Galilee was a rich, fertile, busy land, whose people made their living mainly by agriculture and fruit growing. It was much more fertile than Judæa, and the cost of living there was much lower. Galilee contained potteries, dye-works, glass furnaces, beside woollen and fishing industries. Fishing on the lake appears to have been free to all.[1]

"In choosing *Galilee*, and especially the neighbourhood of Capernaum, for the centre of his public ministry, Jesus was going to the *busiest part of the most populous district of Palestine*. Josephus reckoned the population at three millions, which looks an exaggerated figure; but there were ten or twelve flourishing cities round the Sea of Galilee, and an unusual number of other large towns. One of the cities by the lake, famous for its shipbuilding and fish factories, sent 6,000 men

[1] Edersheim, "Sketches of Jewish Social Life," (hereafter referred to as "S.J.S.L."), pp. 35-40. One "measure" was said to cost as much in Judæa as five in Galilee.

to Corinth to work on the canal then being made across the Isthmus, and 30,000 more were sold as slaves. Of Galilee, we are told: 'Its agriculture and fisheries, wine and oil trade, and other industries, were in the most flourishing condition, being managed with energy and skill by a people who knew well how to use to advantage the resources of their highly favoured country. Its synagogues and public buildings were built often in splendid style and at great expense. Here money was abundant and easily raised either for taxes, heavy tributes, military affairs, or for costly dwellings and palaces. Here all matters pertaining to the synagogical service and to the instruction of children were faithfully attended to, and here were found teachers, learned men, missionaries, poets and patriots of the highest order.' "[2]

THE BURDEN OF TAXATION.

Taxation in Palestine was heavy.[3] The Herods, in addition to other exactions, took money from the people for the building of magnificent palaces. The Roman taxation was "systematic, cruel, relentless and utterly regardless." The "Roman knights formed joint stock companies, which bought at public auction the revenues of a province at a fixed price, generally for five years. These were the real Publicani, . . . who often underlet certain of the taxes. The Publicani, or those who held from them, employed either slaves or some of the lower classes in the country as tax-gatherers—the publicans of the New Testament. Similarly, all other imposts were farmed and collected, some of them being very onerous, and amounting to an *ad valorem* duty of 2½, of 5, and in articles of luxury even of 12½ per cent. . . .

"Thus the publicans also levied import and export dues, bridge-toll, road-money, town-dues, etc.; and if the peaceable inhabitant, the tiller of the soil, the tradesman or manufacturer was constantly exposed to their exactions, the traveller, the caravan, or the pedlar encountered their vexatious presence at every bridge, along the road, and at the entrance to cities. Every bale had to be unloaded and all its contents tumbled about and searched; even letters were opened; and it must have needed more than Eastern patience to bear their insolence and to submit to their 'unjust accusations' in arbitrarily fixing the return from land or income, or the value of goods." It was useless to appeal against these publicans, although the law allowed such appeal, for the judges themselves were the direct beneficiaries by the revenue; the men before whom accusations on this score would have to be laid belonged to the order of

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[2] Rev. Selah Merrill "Galilee in the Time of Christ," p. 121, quoted by William C. Braithwaite, Introduction to "Life's Adventure" (Adult School Handbook, 1920). (*Italics mine.*)

[3] For details see Edersheim, op. cit.

knights, who were the very persons implicated in the farming of the revenue.

". . . Nothing was more common than for the publican to put a fictitious value on property or income. Another favourite trick of his was to advance the tax to those who were unable to pay, and then to charge usurious interest on what had thereby become a private debt." (cp. Matt. xviii. 28, Luke xii. 58.)[4]

So intense was the dislike of the publicans that the Rabbis declared them incapable of hearing testimony in a Jewish court of law, and forbade men to receive their charitable gifts, or even to change money out of their treasury.

PROFITEERING IN THE TEMPLE BAZAARS.

But extortion was not confined to publicans. The profiteering of the rulers of the Jews, especially that of the Sons of Annas in the temple-bazaars, is notorious. On one occasion, for instance, a couple of pigeons were run up to about 15s. 3d. when, through the intervention of Simeon, the grandson of Hillel, they were brought down before night to about 2d. each. On another occasion Baba ben Buta, who advised Herod to rebuild the Temple, found the Temple-court empty of sacrificial animals through the greed of those who were holding up the market. He therefore brought in no less than 3,000 sheep, so that the people might offer sacrifices.[5] Edersheim estimates that the temple tribute, plus the cost of sacrifices, amounted to a considerable income tax for the Jews. "From the unrighteousness of the traffic carried on in these bazaars," he says, "and the greed of their owners, the temple-market was at the time most unpopular. . . . Popular indignation, three years before the destruction of Jerusalem, swept away the bazaars of the family of Annas, and this, as expressly stated, on account of the sinful greed which characterised their dealings. Josephus describes Annas (or Ananus), the son of the Annas of the New Testament, as 'a great hoarder up of money', very rich, and as despoiling by open violence the common priests of their official revenues. The Talmud also records the curse which a distinguished Rabbi of Jerusalem (Abba Shaul) pronounced upon the high priestly families (including that of Annas), who were 'themselves high priests, their sons treasurers . . . their sons-in-law assistant treasurers . . . while their servants beat the people with sticks.' . . . No wonder that in the figurative language of the Talmud the Temple is represented as crying out against them; 'Go hence, ye sons of Eli, ye defile the Temple of Jehovah.' "[6] The action of Jesus in clearing the

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4 Edersheim, op. cit., pp. 55, 56, 57.

5 Edersheim, "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah" (hereafter referred to as "L.T.J.M.") i. 370.

6 Ibid., i. 372. The Temple was intended to be a gathering point for all nations.

temple-courts was a protest in true prophetic style against this great injustice to the poor.

EXTREMES OF WEALTH AND POVERTY.

First century society presented extremes of wealth and poverty similar to those that challenge us to-day. "Articles of luxury, especially from abroad, fetched enormous prices." Remembering that a day labourer's wage was about 7½d. a day, though skilled labourers would get a good deal more, we read that a lady might spend £36 on a cloak; silk would be paid for by its weight in gold; purple wool was £3 5s. a pound, or if double dyed, almost ten times that amount; while the price of the best balsam and nard was most exorbitant.

Articles of ordinary use were cheaper. "In the bazaars you might get a complete suit for your slave for eighteen or nineteen shillings, and a tolerable outfit for yourself from £3 to £6. For the same sum you might purchase an ass, an ox, or a cow, and, for a little more, a horse. Meat was about a penny a pound; a man might get himself a small, of course unfurnished, lodging for about sixpence a week. A lamb would cost about 3s., a pair of turtle doves about 8d. (on one occasion down to 2d.).

"Property to the amount of about £6, or trade with £2-£3 of goods, was supposed to exclude a person from charity, or a claim on what was left in the corners of the fields and to the gleaners."[7]

GUILDS.

As the mention of these last suggests, various customs and institutions existed for the benefit of the poorer classes. For instance, trade was to some extent organised in guilds. In Alexandria the guilds had special seating accommodation in the great synagogue. "Any poor workman had only to apply to his guild, and he was supported till he found employment . . ." Members of the Alexandrian guild of coppersmiths carried with them on their journeys abroad, a bed which could be taken to pieces. "At Jerusalem, where this guild was organised under its Rabban, or chief, it possessed a synagogue and burying-place of its own. But the Palestinian workmen, though they kept by each other, had no exclusive guilds; the principles of 'free trade,' so to speak, prevailing among them."[8]

"Something like the provisions of a mutual assurance appear in the associations of muleteers and sailors, which undertook to replace a beast or a ship that had been lost without negligence on the part of the owner." The evidence of the Talmud

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7 Edersheim, "L.T.J.M." i. 116, 196.

8 Edersheim, "S.J.S.L.' 196.

for our period is of doubtful value. So far as it goes, it expressly allows tradesmen to combine to work only one or two days in the week, so as to give sufficient employment to every workman in a place.[9] The laws of the Talmud against cornering the grain market were exceedingly strict, and although pledges might be taken for payment of debts and in the event of non-payment sold, yet "wearing apparel, bedding, the ploughshare and all articles required for the preparation of food were excepted. Similarly it was unlawful under any circumstances to take a pledge from a widow or sell that which belonged to her."[10]

CHARITY AND HOSPITALITY.

In the Temple there was a special place for contributions for educating the children of the "pious poor." To adopt and bring up an orphan was regarded as an especially "good work." "Orphans were the special charge of the whole congregation—they were not thrust into poorhouses—and the parish authorities were even bound to provide a fixed dowry for female orphans."[11]

Charity was often lavish, and fortunes were spent, especially on the support of Jewish learning. The hospitality of the people of Jerusalem, especially at festive seasons, was unlimited. No one considered his house his own, and no stranger or pilgrim but found reception.[12]

Eastern hospitality customs to-day suggest the unlikelihood that anyone in Palestine would actually perish of starvation. To-day, when you walk on to a man's land, instead of being turned off as a trespasser, you at once become his guest.

To quote Dr. Mackie: "As the beggar stands at the door, he calls out, 'I am your guest! I am God's guest! God will direct you! God will recompense you! . . .' The beggars are thus the great street preachers of the East. The thought of 1 Sam. ii. 7:

'The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich,
He bringeth low, he also lifteth up,'

pervades the whole relationship of poverty and wealth. God has a purpose in giving wealth and permitting poverty (Prov. xiv. 31). Beggars apportion the shops among them, and at the close of the week go their rounds to get their allowance. The rich and poor are thus brought into personal touch with each other, but Oriental benevolence has no thought of attacking the cause of poverty (Deut. xv. 11, 'For the poor shall never cease out of the land')."[13]

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9 "S.J.S.L.' 198. 10 Ibid., 206, 212. 11 Ibid., 138.
12 Edersheim, "L.T.J.M." i. 130.
"Bible Manners and Customs," p. 145.

One of the oldest Rabbinic commentaries thus enlarges upon Ps. cix. 31 ("He shall stand at the right hand of the poor"): "Whenever a poor man stands at thy door, the Holy One, blessed be His Name, stands at his right hand. If thou givest him alms, know that thou shalt receive a reward from Him who standeth at his right hand."

The Talmud counts hospitality among the things of which the reward is received alike in this life and in that which is to come. A guest is to inquire for the welfare of the family—not to go from house to house—to eat of such things as are set before him, and finally to part with a blessing.

On unfrequented roads the inns were not furnished, nor was any payment expected from the wayfarer, though for payment one could get most necessities.[14]

THE DARKER SIDE OF THE PICTURE.

But the above, however, is only one side of the picture. In spite of much charity and many acts of kindness by individuals, the poor were often neglected.

"There is no trade," said Rabbi Meir, "which has not both poverty and riches." "If a man fall into ill-health," says Rabbi Nehorai, "or come to old age or into trouble (chastisement) and is no longer able to stick to his work, lo! he dies of hunger."[15]

"I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat." Such quotations suggest that it was quite possible to starve in the first century.

We shall remember also the dodge for avoiding the duty of supporting parents under the pretext of dedicating the money to God, one instance among very many of the way in which the exponents of the law reversed its whole intention by their traditions. I have seen the slums of Jerusalem, lined with beggars displaying their misery or their loathsome diseases. Clearly from a number of references in the New Testament, beggars were characteristic of society in those days. Then, as to-day, the lepers held out their stumps and appealed for alms. George Adam Smith, speaking of the Jerusalem (not Galilee) of the Gospels, says: "There was a considerable volume of commerce and industry; but, on the other hand, swarms of idlers and mendicants, much poverty, and because of the comparative sterility of the surroundings, a general precariousness of subsistence, which under drought or invasion, especially if the latter coincided with a Sabbatic year, rapidly became famine."[16] And again: "In the course of the history it has become clear how unable the City was to support herself from

14 "S.J.S.L." 48, 49, 50. 15 Ibid., 183.

16 "Jerusalem from the Earliest Times to 70 A.D." p. 558.

her own resources and how many non-productive members her population contained. Jerusalem was naturally a poor city. This condition is reflected in all that the Book of Acts affirms about the poverty of her Christians and their need of support from abroad. When a famine threatened the world it was at once felt that the bretheren in Judæa would suffer most.'"[17]

"THIS PEOPLE THAT KNOWETH NOT THE LAW."

One of the greatest handicaps of the working poor in first century Palestine was spiritual rather than economic. The homely and democratic morality of the prophets had given place to a system of legalism so fine-spun that rubbing the ears of corn on the Sabbath became the double crime of reaping and of threshing or sifting.[18]

It was well-nigh impossible for many, quite impossible for some manual workers, to keep themselves ceremonially clean. They had neither time nor opportunity to study in the schools nor go in for the elaborate washings and other ceremonies required for the keeping of the Law. Therefore they were out-cast in the way that a Jew would feel most keenly—"This people that knoweth not the Law are accursed." It is true that craftsmanship was often held in honour and many Rabbis were craftsmen. But a trade which had to do with unclean things, the smell of which clung to the workman, was ranked very low. Tanning and mining were considered such dirty trades that a woman was allowed to divorce not only the collector of dog's dung, who supplied the tanner with this tan, but even a tanner or a miner, whether he had become so intolerably repulsive to her before or after marriage, thus putting them on a level with lepers or those afflicted with fetid polypus. "The world cannot exist" (says a common proverb) "without perfumers or tanners; well for you if you are a perfumer, woe to you if you are a tanner."[19] But there was one—by trade a working carpenter—who replied, "You make void the word of God by your traditions: . . . there is nothing from without a man that going into him can defile him."[20] And he also indicted the rulers for binding upon men's shoulders heavy and grievous loads, while to the burdened working people of his day he said, "Come to me all you who are labouring and burdened, and I will refresh you."

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17 "Jerusalem from the Earliest Times to 70 A.D." p. 563.

18 "L.T.J.M." ii. 56.

19 Delitzch. "Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of Christ."

20 Mark vii. 13, 15.

CHAPTER II.

The Kingdom of God—The Social Message of Jesus.

"*Why call ye me 'Lord,' 'Lord,' and do not the things which I say?*"

The Church's evasion in the past of the central message of Jesus—The Hebrew prophets aflame for social righteousness—Humanity before Property—Revolutionary lineage of Christianity—The Kingdom of God the lost social ideal of Christendom—How Jesus adapted the Kingdom-idea—Its meaning the embodiment in life of the Will of God—The Church and the Kingdom—No limit to the Kingdom's extension—The Court becomes the Family—The Kingdom begins here and now—Jesus lifted the whole of Life on to a higher plane—The Kingdom-doctrine thoroughly revolutionary.

ONE of the most extraordinary features of the history of the Church has been the widespread neglect and evasion of the central purpose that Jesus lived to promote—the realisation in daily life of the Kingdom or reign of God.

Men have waged bloody wars, and engaged in cruel persecutions in the name of Christ; they rent Christendom with controversy from end to end in the vain endeavour to force all to hold correct views as to whether Jesus was of one substance or of like substance with the Father, but they quite forgot that what *he* cared most about was that they should visit, feed and clothe him in the person of the prisoner, the hungry and the naked.

The prophets who went before him, and whose message he so profoundly absorbed and expanded, were aflame with the passion for social righteousness; so much so, that it is a marvel how their revolutionary writings have been preserved as sacred books at all.

"The Lord will enter into judgment with the elders of his people, and the princes thereof: It is ye that have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses: What mean ye that ye crush my people, and grind the face of the poor? saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts."[1]

"For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant: and he looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry. Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field

[1] Isaiah iii. 14, 15.

to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land!'"[2]

Over against this land-grabbing and profiteering flowing from the self-seeking use of economic powers, the prophets place the outraged justice of God, who is the one real owner of the land and of its produce, and whose prime concern in its use is the well-being of his people. Any other use of it is sacrilege, and robbery against God. No claim to private property in land can stand for a moment beside God's demands.

"The land shall not be sold in perpetuity; FOR THE LAND IS MINE: for ye are strangers and sojourners with me."[3]

But in the days of Jesus the old humanitarian laws under which slaves were released and property reverted periodically, if they were ever really operative in Israel, had largely fallen into abeyance. An oppressed people waited longingly for a deliverer.

Christianity "was born of revolutionary lineage. Its cradle was rocked by the storm wind of popular hopes. What was it that . . . thrilled the throngs that followed Jesus about in Galilee? Was it the desire to go to heaven one by one when they died? . . . It was the hope of a great common salvation for all the people, the belief that the Kingdom of God on earth was at last in sight."[4] The Magnificat rejoices that already the hungry are filled, princes put down from their thrones and the rich sent empty away. James, who may be the brother of Jesus, says, "Let the brother of low degree glory in his high estate: and the rich, in that he is made low: because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away."[5] John the Baptist, the kinsman of Jesus, proclaims the expected Kingdom. No one, he says, will enter it because of aristocratic descent, for God is able of the stones strewn around to raise up children unto Abraham. It is the kingdom of a new brotherhood and a new communism.[6]

From the outset of the public ministry of Jesus this social hope formed the very heart of his message.

"To this he dedicated himself in baptism. This set him the problems which he faced in the wilderness temptations. This was the centre of his parables and prophecies. This explains the ethical standards which he set up in the Sermon on the Mount. It was the Reign of God on earth for which he consumed his strength, for which he died, and for which he promised to return.

"The Kingdom of God is the first and most essential dogma of the Christian faith. It is also the lost social ideal of Christendom. No man is a Christian in the full sense of the original discipleship until he has made the Kingdom of God the con-

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[2] Isaiah v. 7, 8. [3] Levit. xxv. 23.
[4] Quoted from Walter Rauschenbusch, "Christianising the Social Order," pp. 48, 49.
[5] James i 9, 10. [6] Luke iii. 11.

trolling purpose of his life, and no man is intellectually prepared to understand Jesus Christ until he has understood the meaning of the Kingdom of God."[7]

The Kingdom-hope was burning thus already in the minds of a proud and oppressed people. No wonder that when the Baptist proclaimed the nearness of its fulfilment the crowds flocked to him. But Jesus, as we shall see, in adopting the term transformed its meaning, and by this incurred the misunderstanding and hostility that enabled the authorities to compass his death. From the conflict of the wilderness temptations to the agony in Gethsemane the apparent futility of this policy of throwing away priceless opportunities dogged him at every turn. But in spite of all he followed unswervingly the path he had set for himself.

We may be sure, then, that in his deviations from the popular expectation we have his characteristic thought regarding the Kingdom.

We must also try if possible to discover *in what direction* his thoughts were moving. Jesus, as we are definitely told, "advanced in wisdom" as well as stature, "and in favour with God and man."[8] His mind and character were growing all the time, under stress of temptation[9] and experience. If his disciples were to do greater works than he had done,[10] doubtless he wished them also to think out his problems in further detail.

Rauschenbusch mentions seven points in which the policy of Jesus differed from that of current Jewish expectation.[11]

(1) They expected that "the Messiah would hoist the flag of revolt, and slay the oppressors by the breath of his mouth or by the sword of the faithful." Jesus repudiated the method of violence from the first, and threw all his fighting ardour into the moral revolution. He would not win the kingdoms of the world by the methods of the "devil."

(2) "To the Jews the Kingdom of God meant the triumph of Judaism. . . . When Gentiles claimed equal rights in the Christian churches it came as a shock to the Christian Jews. . . . Probably Jesus began with the same horizon as his countrymen, but every time he met a Gentile or Samaritan we can see his horizon in the act of expanding."

(3) The Jewish idea of the Kingdom "had come down from despotic times and was cast in monarchical forms." The Messiah was to be king, his followers to rule as courtiers. In flat contradiction to this, Jesus lays down

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[7] Rauschenbusch, op. cit., p.49.

[8] Luke ii. 52. [9] Luke xxii. 28. [10] John xiv. 12.

[11] "Christianising the Social Order," pp. 58 and ff.

"the law of service as the fundamental law of his kingdom." Happy devotion was substituted for slavish fear.

(4) "To all devout Jews the Mosaic and Rabbinic law was at the core of religion." The Kingdom to them meant the enthronement of the law. "Jesus, on the other hand, was so indifferent to the ceremonial laws that he struck the earnest religionists of his day as a man of loose life and destructive influence."[12] He came to declare liberty to the captives and to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord (referring to the freeing of the Jewish bond servants in the year of jubilee).[13] All the enthusiasm of Jesus was concentrated on justice, mercy and love. The test of a Christian at the final judgment was, "Have you fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited the sick or the prisoner?" That this means brotherhood, not charity, is shown by the fact that he treats all such acts of goodwill as done to himself.

(5) "Blessed are they that shall eat bread in the Kingdom of God." The Jews hoped for a time of feasting and prosperity. "Economic wealth was the end; morality and religion the means." No one who healed the sick and cared for the hungry as Jesus did, who took pride in the fact that his disciples when on his service had never lacked anything, and who put a request for the daily bread "in the central place amid the brevity of the Lord's Prayer," could have despised the physical needs of men. But to him the end of life was not eating and drinking, but rather the establishment of brotherhood, fellowship and the love of God. "To exploit no man and to love all men, to be at peace with your brothers and with yourself and with your God, to sing with joy at sight of a sunset or an autumn creeper or a happy child, to prize truth and knowledge, . . . to enjoy prayer as the highest exercise of life—this is the real thing; the rest is scaffolding. The followers of Jesus should lead all others in protesting against the Dives-and-Lazarus plan of the social order, but not chiefly because Lazarus fell short of the normal number of ounces of crumbs, but because they were crumbs and were thrown to him as a dole."

(6) "The popular expectation revelled in luscious descriptions of the Messianic age." Jesus resists the miraculous

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12 Matt. xi. 16-19, cp. v. 17.

[13] Luke iv. 18, 19, cited from the Septuagint version of Isaiah lxi. 1, 2. Commenting on the Isaiah passage Dr. Skinner says that the expression "to proclaim liberty" shows "that the idea of the year of salvation is based on the institution of the Jubilee": see Levit. xxv. 10, Jeremiah xxxiv. 8, 15, 17; Ezek. xlvi. 17. These, indeed, are the only occurrences of the word for "liberty," which is thus seen to denote always a universal emancipation by public decree. See also Levit. xxv. (the whole chapter), Isaiah xlix. 8, 9. Adeney (Century Bible, St. Luke) refers the release of captives primarily "to the deliverance of the Jews from the Babylonian or some later oppression."

and concentrates on present duty. He "is the eternal model for the combination of enthusiasm and sanity. . . . Probably at the outset he, too, expected a mass movement and a swift culmination, but, as he tried it out, he realised that it was a matter of slow and patient preparation."

(7) Yet he felt the nearness of the Kingdom more than they all. "Apocalyptism had set up the theory of the two eras, 'this age' and 'the coming age,' and separated them by a chasm. At least in some of his sayings we can see Jesus working away from that view to the thought that the old era was even then passing into the new." (Luke xvii. 20, 21.)

Let us now turn in detail to the question, "What *is* the Kingdom of God?" Without doubt it is central to the Christian message.[14] The phrase occurs both at the beginning and end of the ministry; the gospel is called "the gospel (good news) of the Kingdom"; the Twelve and the Seventy were sent out to announce that the Kingdom was at hand, and more than one-third of the parables unfold the idea of the Kingdom.[15] Amid the severe concentration upon essentials of the Lord's Prayer, the words "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth" hold a central place. The preaching of the Kingdom supersedes the reign of the law and the prophets. (Matt. xi. 13, Luke xvi. 16.) The Kingdom-idea is so many sided that definitions are too small for it. The essential thought is probably that of the Lord's Prayer in the sense "Where the will of God is done, there, to that extent, the Kingdom of God has come."

Compare: "It is not everyone who says to me 'Lord, Lord!' who will enter the realm of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father which is in heaven." (Matt. vii. 21.)[16]

"Whoever does the will of my Father in heaven, he is my brother and sister and mother." (Matt. xii. 50, cp. Mark iii. 35.)

"If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and so follow me." (Matt. xvi. 24.)

"The King will answer them, 'I tell you truly, in so far as you did it to one of these brothers of mine, even to the least of them, you did it to me.'" (Matt. xxv. 40.)

The will of God is done when any human being or group of human beings becomes so fired with the divine passion for

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[14] In the following paragraphs the writer is indebted to articles in Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible" and "Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels."

[15] It must, however, be noted that the phrase "the Kingdom of God (heaven) is like" is probably in a number of places an editorial refrain. In various parables—Vineyard, King who celebrates his son's marriage (Matt. xx. 1, xxii. 2)—it fits awkwardly into the context. On the other hand a number of parables probably relate to the Kingdom where no verbal mention of it is made.

[16] Here and in a large number of other passages I am greatly or entirely indebted to Dr. Moffat's translation.

humanity that through it he gives his all to the service of his fellows.

The following are some of the forms under which the Kingdom is described[17] :—

The Kingdom is the highest good (Matt. xiii. 44-46—the Treasure and the Pearl of great Price). It is something already here, among or within the disciples (ἐντὸς ὑμῶν, Luke xvii. 21). It is to be had by seeking (Matt. vi. 33—"Seek first his Kingdom and his righteousness"). For its coming the disciples are to pray. ("Thy reign begin," Matt. vi. 10, Moffat.)

It is indeed spoken of as the inheritance of the Jews; but even here this depends on rightness of heart, for it will be taken away from the unworthy among them and given to outsiders who are worthy. (Matt. xxi. 43, cp. Luke xiii. 28-30.)

Yet it is the great fact of the future—the inheritance into which the righteous are to enter at the conclusion of that great judgment when the Son of Man shall come in his glory with his angels. (Matt. xxv. 34.)

It is even spoken of picturesquely as if it were a place or state which the righteous enter at death.

"It is better to enter God's realm with one eye, than keep your two eyes and be thrown into Gehenna." (Mark ix. 47.) (Gehenna contrasted with the Kingdom.)

"Many shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven." (Matt. viii. 11.)

(After the judgment of the wicked.) "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the Kingdom of their Father." (Matt. xiii. 43.)

The problem here is one of right-heartedness rather than of geography. Jesus set out from the view of his compatriots that the Kingdom was the rightful inheritance of the Jews (cp. Paul's epistles passim). But the more he saw of the faith of some Gentiles and Samaritans, and of the apostasy of his own people, the more he realised that the apostolic succession for the Kingdom was essentially a spiritual matter. Jesus insisted that the inward motive of the citizens of the Kingdom must be the highest only. Like the weary slave whose duty to his master is never finished, we must do all without thought of reward. There is one reward—the Kingdom—and those who have had the chance to work faithfully for one hour receive it equally with those who have borne the burden and heat of the day. Great would be the reward in heaven of the faithful; but the reward would be the opportunity to use their talents in a

17 Whichever phrase, "the Kingdom of God" (Mark, Luke and John) or the "Kingdom of Heaven" (Matthew nearly always), is original, there is practically no difference in meaning. The Jewish extreme reverence for the Name of God resorts to paraphrase to avoid employing it directly (cp. Mark xiv. 61, "the Son of the Blessed").

wider sphere. There could be no greater contrast than between this teaching and the debit and credit notions of piling up merit then current among the Jews.

The Kingdom is sometimes spoken of almost as if it were some sort of organised community.

(a) He that is least in the Kingdom is greater than John. (Matt. xi. 11, Luke vii. 28.) Why should the greatest of the prophets be outside the Kingdom? The thought seems to be: "He belongs to the old order of the law and the prophets; he hasn't the new outlook; *he* stands for 'justice' and the wrath to come: *I* stand for the coming of the Kingdom of joy and comradeship. To enter the Kingdom you must have the heart of a child, and, great as John is, he has not attained to that. There is no other barrier to entrance."

(b) In the parable of the Wheat and Tares (Matt. xiii. 24ff) the Kingdom, though likened (through the somewhat unskilful use of the usual formula) to the sower, is intended to correspond to the harvest of wheat plus tares (xiii. 41). But Jesus emphatically warns the disciples that they are unable in this life to separate the true members of the Kingdom from its enemies, and ought not to attempt to do so. And it is noteworthy that "the Son of Man will commission his angels to gather *out of* his kingdom all who practise iniquity." Thus hitherto the Kingdom has contained the evil as well as the good, and thus it seems to stand for either the organised society of professed Christians on earth, or the society of those who are potentially, though not always actually, true disciples.

(c) Similarly in the parable of the draw-net (Matt. xiii. 47ff), though the formula may again mislead us, the Kingdom seems to correspond to the draw-net itself, which encloses both good and bad. At the end of the "age" or "world"—ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ του αἰῶνος (as in the Wheat and Tares parable) the proper sifting out of good and bad is made. The main conception seems to be the same as in (b).

Both these passages are found in Matthew only, and are probably largely influenced by Church tradition. Yet the idea that we can't be sure of rooting up the tares without uprooting the wheat also—"let both grow together till the harvest"—is so vital and original that one may well believe it comes from Jesus himself.

Besides passages referring to the choosing of the twelve disciples, the following (again in Matthew only and probably also largely influenced by Church tradition) refer to the organised community of the faithful.

Matt. xvi. 18: "On this rock will I build my Church (ἐκκλησία)."

Matt. xviii. 15-18: "If he refuses to listen . . . tell the Church."

Matt. xxviii. 19: "Baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

We have no very definite picture drawn as to the relationship between the Church and the Kingdom; far the best illustrations are those of the members of the body (Romans xii. 4ff) and the vine and branches (John xv. 1-7), which show the union between the Church and its Head. When this deep union is realised, the Kingdom and the Church (as it ought to be) become one.

The Kingdom begins indeed in a small humble way like the seed growing in secret, the mustard-seed and the leaven (Mark iv. 25-32, Matt. xiii. 1-13, 31-33, Luke xiii. 18-21), but extends finally to great proportions. It strikes root within the heart of man (Mark iv. 3 ff, Matt. vi. 33, Mark xii. 34), and expresses itself in ever-widening social relationships, until finally it will cover the whole earth.

"It is not the idea of Jesus," says Dr. Orr, "that this Kingdom should be confined solely to the inner life. It is rather a principle working from within outwards for the renewal and transformation of every department of our earthly existence. . . . The Kingdom is not fully come until everything in human life, and in the relations of man in society, is brought into complete harmony with the will of God."

Is there anything whatever to suggest that "the Church" should restrict itself to generalities or hold aloof from political matters, or indeed from any part of life whatever? Is not the Church to be the band of red-hot enthusiasts who are to start turning the world right way up?

Naturally we find that the Kingdom bursts the bonds of nationality also, and becomes universal in its scope. Jesus found Samaritans and Gentiles who were more fitted for it than the Jews. Many of these would come "from the East and the West," and sit down in the Kingdom before many of the "Chosen Race" (Matt. viii. 11).

Compare:

"I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel" (Luke vii. 1-9).

The Good Samaritan (Luke x. 30-37).

"I, when I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to myself" (John xii. 32).

"Go and make disciples of all nations . ." (Matt. xxviii. 19).

The idea of the universal Kingdom is already present in Daniel (chapters ii. and vii.).

One of the most remarkable things about the Kingdom-idea of Jesus is the way the Jewish court paraphernalia fall off from it, and there remains instead simply the idea of a family. From a boy Jesus must have shocked the pious by talking of God, not as an awesome despot, but as his own father. As the world's supreme religious genius, he realised the presence of God with unique vividness and naturalness. And being, like his Father, a lover of men to the uttermost, he wanted every other human creature to realise as he did the same glorious and intimate fellowship with God and man. Now this fellowship *is* the Kingdom already, though not by any means all that the Kingdom is destined to become.[18]

The standard Jesus sets is absolutely staggering—it is the perfection of God himself (Matt. v. 48). His nature being love, the Kingdom will naturally be the expression of love in the life of men. "Whatever you would like men to do to you, do the same to them." "The chief commandment is 'You must love the Lord your God with your whole heart, with your whole soul, with your whole mind, and with your whole strength.' The second is this: 'You must love your neighbour as yourself'" (Matt. vii. 12, Mark xii. 29-30). Nay, we are even to love our enemies—an achievement leagues beyond the practice of most of us, who get most unreasonably annoyed when we are misunderstood in some small matter by our friends or neighbours! Love obviously can never be a purely individualistic affair—it is a social relationship between persons. In its full manifestation it cannot stop short until it includes every conceivable side of life.

If, to quote Dr. Orr's list, "art, culture, philosophy, education, science, literature, economic and social reform" are not specifically mentioned by Jesus, if slavery, prostitution, militarism and other well-known social evils are not referred to in so many words, the motive and spur for founding a world commonwealth in every corner of which love shall reign, is abundantly present and abundantly stressed. All is there in embryo, and the Master

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[18] As witness that the Kingdom is regarded as in some sense already present, compare "If I cast out dæmons by the Spirit of God, then the Reign of God has reached you already" (Matt. xii. 28, Moffat); and again, "On being asked by the Pharisees when the Reign of God was coming, he answered them, 'The Reign of God is not coming as you hope to catch sight of it; no one will say, 'Here it is' or 'There it is,' for the Reign of God is now in your midst" (Luke xvii. 21, Moffat).

Johannes Weiss paraphrases—"You cannot mark the coming of the Kingdom of God by omens, for, see! it has already begun in your midst—and you have not noticed it! Jesus points to those beginnings of the Reign of God of which he speaks in the Beelzebub discourse (Matt. xii. 28; Luke xi. 20), the conquest of the devil and his hosts. . . . .

"Besides this, in our view the most probable meaning, there is another which we regard as not impossible, which takes the 'IS' as an incorrect reproduction of an Aramaic future: 'the Kingdom of God will (suddenly, unexpectedly) be among you.' This would also suit the context well'" (Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, Göttingen. 1907, p. 494—present writer's translation). But compare also "The Law and the Prophets lasted until John; since then the good news of the Kingdom of God is preached, and everyone is forcing his way into it" (Luke xvi. 16). Or again, "Woe unto you . . . scribes and Pharisees! You shut (that must mean 'to-day') the Kingdom of heaven in men's faces: you neither enter yourselves, nor will you let those enter who are on the point of entering" (Matt. xxiii. 13).

left his supreme message to his disciples to work out in detail in life. The first three gospels at least are not finished doctrinal treatises, nor apparently did Jesus himself teach in systematic form. He lived and died for men, and left it to others to record and systematise (if they could or would) the profound truths that he offered ungrudgingly for the special needs of all who had ears to hear, were they lepers, prostitutes, Samaritans or Romans, Pharisees, tax farmers, or fishermen. A great part of this teaching is thus undoubtedly lost to us.

This individual method of work was rendered necessary by the relationship of the message of Jesus to the current policies of the political parties of his day, of which, as we shall see, he could not have adopted any without jeopardising the establishment of the Kingdom. What Jesus did was to lift the whole of life on to a higher plane; to give it a quality and a glory never yet realised. His person and teaching were dynamic: he led men to the fount of all beauty and all social justice.

From all this it is clear that the Kingdom was to be something far beyond a reformed and purified Judaism. It is indeed a patch too strong for the old garment, it is new wine too strong for the old skins (Matt. ix. 16-17). In a word it is a revolutionary doctrine of the most thorough-going kind, the kind that penetrates to the very bone and marrow of all life as we know it. All the above meanings of the Kingdom are subsidiary to the main idea, that where the will of God is done, thus far the Kingdom comes, whether in this age or the next, whether on earth or in heaven. Our business is to bring it about on earth.[19]

19 The views of Schweitzer and other Eschatologists are discussed in the Appendix at the end of this book.

CHAPTER III.

The Teaching of Jesus in reference to Life, Property, Riches and Poverty.

God's care for all—Friendship of Jesus for social outcasts—All life more valuable than property—Unity of love and justice—The Poor Man's charter—Danger of riches —Are we to be tramp-preachers?—Joviality of the Man of Joys—Poverty and life abounding—Difference of emphasis in teaching on riches in the Gospels—Was it due to the pauperisation of the Jerusalem Church?—Voluntary Communism of the Early Church no accident—The so-called "Money-Parables" have chiefly spiritual meanings—Jesus not indifferent to Politics—The Temptations—Possibility of successful revolt against Rome—Method of instituting the Kingdom—All staked on the strength of love —Loving Enemies—Moral resistance—Did Jesus sanction the sword?—No Christian in early days became a soldier—The only effective form of Society based on consent—Were the denunciations of the Pharisees a violation of his principles?—How defend the oppressed?—No method guaranteed "safe"—Violence, strikes and lock-outs—"Be not called leaders"—The Christian's dilemma—Key to the problem is reverence for Personality—Co-operation or suicide?

FOR the ancient prophets, as we have seen, property was God's, and his good gifts for all. Any man therefore who exploited his neighbour committed sacrilege against God. The view of Jesus is the same. "How much more," he says, "is a man worth than a sheep?" (Matt. xii. 12). "Does not each of you on the Sabbath untether his ox or ass from the stall and lead it away to drink? And this woman . . . bound by Satan for all these eighteen years, was she not to be freed from her bondage on the Sabbath?" (Luke xiii. 15-16).

Does it not thus follow that human needs, instead of the profits of those who already have enough, should always be the first charge upon production?

But in the teaching of Jesus there is revealed a closer and more intimate relationship between God and the individual than had been realised before. God's care, says Jesus, extends not only to the most despised human being, even to the numbering of the hairs of his head, but to the very sparrows, the lilies, the grass of the field.

Jesus seeks out especially those outcasts from Society whom the mass of men overlook and cast on one side—the hated agents of a foreign or Herodian oppressor, the despised Samaritans, the loathsome lepers, the warped and downtrodden wrecks of womanhood with whom it was thought scandalous to eat and drink—of these he deliberately makes friends. In their hearts he discovers an undreamed of wealth of affection and devotion,

and he tells us that these are usually more fitted for the Kingdom of God than those whom Society styles "religious" and "respectable."

This revelation by Jesus of the care and love of God for those who are regarded as the very dregs of humanity heightens the Old Testament message concerning the duty of social justice toward all. If it is not the will of the Heavenly Father that one of his little ones should perish, how then can it be his will that any social system, any injustice or oppression, should continue which destroys their bodies and warps their souls?

Life then, even the meanest life, is infinitely more valuable than property, which is at best but a means to life.

This burning love of Jesus for man as man is the inspiration of all his social teaching. We see it in his high valuation of the gift of a cup of cold water to a child, in his love of that rich young man who just failed to rise to discipleship, in his promise that a contrite woman's act of devotion should be told in memory of her for ever, in the tender dismissal of another sinful woman with his "Neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more," in his glad readiness to lodge with despised Zacchæus, in his washing of the disciples' feet, in his exhortation to fashionable hosts to invite, not their rich friends, but the poor, maimed and blind (even by the scouring of the highways and hedges), in his motto "It is more blessed to give than to receive," and in that social gospel in a nutshell "As ye would that men should do to you, even so do ye to them, for this is the law and the prophets."

Moreover there was to be no limit to the disciples' devotion. Nothing but the absolute ideal should satisfy the Christian: "You must love your enemies and help them, you must lend to them without expecting any return." "Be ye (or, "ye shall be") therefore perfect (full-grown) even as your Heavenly Father is perfect." Such a command involves the perfecting of the whole social order, for we are all members of one body, suffering or being healed together.

In the deeper divine unity there can be no contrast between love and justice. Love involves justice, and justice is impossible without love. Jesus begins his ministry by endorsing the essential teaching of John the Baptist, who tells his hearers not only to share their food and clothing with the needy, but also to be just in their manner of acquiring possessions ("Never exact more than your fixed rate. . . . Never extort money, never lay a false charge").[1] "Be content with your pay" might appear to be a discouragement to labour agitation, but probably enough this remark also is directed against extortion from the innocent. Labour agitation would doubtless have been dealt with in a very summary way in the Roman army.

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[1] Luke iii. 13, 14.

The first public address recorded of Jesus by Luke endorses the great exilic (or post-exilic) prophet's charter of liberty to the poor and oppressed. His message to the doubting Baptist in prison is that the sick are healed, and the poor have the good news preached to them. But Jesus comes down with unsparing denunciation upon specific abuses, especially where these are given religious sanction, for instance the vowing of money to God (Corban) to evade a vow to support father and mother. Compare, too, his grief over the way in which the lawyers " lade men with burdens grievous to be borne," or the scribes " devour widows' houses and for a pretence make long prayers," or, again, his dramatic indignation and action against the temple money-changers.

Clearly then, if wealth was to be acquired by private individuals at all, Jesus insisted that the mode of obtaining it should be free from oppression. But how did he regard ownership?

Few modern revolutionaries have used more forcible language than that in which Jesus warns us of the dangers of material wealth :—

" How difficult it is for moneyed people to enter the Kingdom of God ! " (Mark x. 23), " Blessed are you poor . . . Alas for you rich folk—you get all the comforts you will ever get " (Luke vi. 20, 24).

" Store up no treasures for yourselves on earth " (as so many " good," kind people store them !) " . . . for where your treasure lies, your heart will lie there too " (Matt. vi. 19, 21).

" Keep clear of covetousness in every shape and form, for a man's life does not consist "—— in a bank balance ! (Luke xii. 15.)

" You cannot serve God and gold " (Matt. vi. 24).

" It is easier for a camel to get through a needle's eye " (not a gate, but the eye of a real needle—Luke's is a doctor's needle) " than for a rich man to get into the Kingdom " (Matt. 19, 24).

" But God said to him, ' Foolish man, this very night your soul is wanted '; so fares the man who lays up treasure for himself instead of gaining the riches of God " (Luke xii. 20, 21).

" Sell all you have, distribute the money among the poor, ... then come and follow me " (Luke xviii. 22).

" So with every one of you who will not part with all his goods, he cannot be a disciple of mine " (Luke xiv. 33).

These sayings are very startling, and if we are prepared to take them seriously, more disconcerting than most of us care to own. We are so apt to assume that they have some nice, comfortable spiritual meaning that need not trouble us seriously. But the facts are against us. The dangers of riches burned themselves into the soul of Jesus in a way that modern Society consistently ignores. " Where your treasure lies," he says, " your heart will lie there too."

Let us test where our hearts lie by asking ourselves some such questions as these :—

(1) Which would distress me more, to lose all my money through no fault of my own and be turned penniless into the street, or to have the means to pay an employee a living wage, and yet to underpay him?

(2) What would be the view of Jesus? And dare we claim discipleship if we do not share and act up to that view?

Shaw describes Jesus as a homeless vagrant, and a writer in the "Outlook" says :—"The practice of the preacher-carpenter who had not where to lay his head, who is not recorded as having possessed a single coin, who had nothing to leave his mother, and whose grave was borrowed from a friend, accords fully with the message he delivered."

What does all this mean? Are we each and all to go forth, as Francis of Assisi did, tramping, preaching and begging our bread? If so, how would the world support itself? It seems that dwellers in our Northern climate, not all of them robust in health, and many with young families to be supported, cannot all be tramp preachers, though it might be a very salutary experience if more of us did it for a time.

But now flash upon your mind this gibe : "Look at the fellow, a glutton and a drinker, a friend of profiteers and prostitutes!" Allow for spite, allow for coarse exaggeration, and yet ask yourself, "If Jesus had worshipped deprivation and asceticism, would he have been so remarked upon for his joviality in contrast with John the Baptist?"[2]

Jesus was indeed "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," but he was also "a man of joys and acquainted with laughter."[3] He came not to stint and starve the life of men, but "that they might have life, and that they might have it abundantly." His joy in birds, lilies, and children, the terse humour of his descriptions of men (the blind leading the blind, the Pharisees sounding a trumpet before him, or straining out a mosquito while he entirely forgets he is swallowing a camel[4]) all shows that just because he entered so deeply into the hearts of his fellows he radiated a gaiety and joy to which our sombre Puritan tradition has made it seem irreverent to do justice. "To restore the divine laughter to the drawn faces of his people is the highest service we can render to the Man of Joys."

But joy and outward poverty are by no means impossible bedfellows. Did not Paul rejoice in having nothing and yet possessing all things? Was not Francis after he had parted with his

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2 The reference is Matt. xi. 19=Luke vii. 34.

3 See Glover's "The Jesus of History," ch. iii., also an excellent pamphlet under the title "The Man of Joys," by A. Barratt Brown, M.A., published by the Yorkshire 1905 Committee of the Society of Friends, 3d. post free, from the Secretary, 61, Wigginton Road, York.

4 See Glover's delightful exposition of that remark, p. 49, op. cit.

last penny one of the sweetest revellers the world has ever known? Did not Jesus himself, though homeless and penniless, rejoice in spirit, and did he not tell his disciples in the day of persecution to "rejoice and be exceeding glad"? Did he not also compare himself to the bridegroom at the wedding and gently rebuke those who wanted the disciples to fast? A friend of mine who maintained a communistic way of life once told me of the joy he felt when he had parted with his last sixpence. And Brother Juniper, too, the follower of Francis, "gave to the poor whatsoever he could lay his hands on. And for this reason the brothers left nothing lying about, for that Brother Juniper gave away everything for the love of God and for his glory." So true is it that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth."

Let us not, blinded by modern commercial standards, confuse asceticism with the absence of private ownership of goods. Jesus was not an ascetic. He wanted both himself and his followers to get the very most out of life—all the colour and loveliness and sweetness that a loving father delighted to shower upon his children. "Look how the lilies of the field grow . . . if God *so* clothes the grass . . . will he not much more clothe you? O, men, how little you trust him!" This is not asceticism, this is "life abounding."

But how does this tally with the complete renunciation necessary for discipleship? Why, in this at least, that the disciple must utterly renounce all that is dark and mean and leap forth into the sunshine! This is the new birth, or, better, the birth from above, this is eternal life beginning here on earth, this is the radiance of the love of God. But the "birth from above" is in its nature social, not simply individual. Jesus was always getting into trouble with the "heavily upright and godly" because he was so social. Anyone who would be a disciple of his must quit nursing his own soul, and fling himself into the work of realising the Divine Society.

But if he is to do this he must come down from the clouds, and study how Society's feet of clay, industry, finance, agriculture and the rest, are to be made worthy bearers of this new and joyful spirit.

We must therefore follow the teaching of Jesus further, to see what guidance he gives us on bread-and-butter subjects. And firstly, again we note that the petition for daily bread, "Give us to-day our rations for the day's march," stands in the very centre of the Prayer of Prayers.

There is a very interesting difference of emphasis in the four gospels concerning riches and poverty.[5] The Fourth Gospel hardly touches the problem of material possessions at all, its

[5] I am largely indebted here to Peabody, "Jesus Christ and the Social Question," ch. iv.

interests lie elsewhere. Mark has some material, but our main sources are Matthew and Luke. For the viewpoint of these two compare—

Matt. v. 3 : " Blessed are the *poor in spirit.*" (Moffat : "Those who feel poor in spirit.")

Luke vi. 24 : " Blessed are *you poor,* but alas for you that are rich ! "

Matt. vi. 20 : " Store up no treasures for yourselves on earth, but . . . in heaven."

Luke xii. 33 : " Sell what you possess and give it away in alms."

Matt. v. 42 : " Give to the man who asks from you."
Luke vi. 30 : " Give to *everyone* who asks from you."

Matt. xix. 21 : " Sell your property."
Luke xviii. 22 : " Sell *all* that you have."
Mark x. 21 : " Sell whatever you have."

According to Matthew there are brought to the marriage banquet both bad and good.

In Luke the host who gives the supper says, " Bring in the poor, the maimed, the blind and the lame."[6]

The most radical teachings or illustrations regarding the perils of wealth are to be found in Luke alone :—

The story of Dives and Lazarus. (xvi. 20ff.)

The Rich Fool. (xii. 16ff.)

The conversation about Inheritance. (xii. 13ff.)

The words " The rich he hath sent empty away." (i. 53.)

The more radical teaching of Luke is paralleled in the early chapters of Acts, and in the Epistle of James. We know that in days of famine it was the central Church at Jerusalem which received help from others, we know also that James was one of its most important officials. On the other hand Luke, the Gentile, writes his more radical social gospel for Gentile readers, while Matthew, reflecting the Jewish Christian standpoint, is the one to give the more " spiritualised " teaching.

Peabody[7] believes that the voluntary sharing described in the early chapters of the Acts led to an impoverishment of the Jerusalem community through the flocking of the " less honourable poor " to receive their share in the distribution, so much so that it lost its capacity for self-support, and thus became dependent upon alms contributed by the Gentile communities. The suggestion is that the outlook of the Jerusalem Church coloured the teaching of James and Luke.

It should, however, be remembered that the Jerusalem Church

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6 Matt xxii, 10, Luke xiv. 21.

7 "Jesus Christ and the Social Question," p 71

was especially harried by various persecutions.[8] Those who worked at jobs for non-Christians would be exceedingly likely to lose them. In xi. 27 Agabus prophesies a world-famine "which came to pass in the days of Claudius" and seems to have hit the Jerusalem Church especially hard. In Ch. xii. we read of Herod's persecution, causing the martyrdom of James and the imprisonment of Peter.

In passing we note that John Mark's mother had a maid named Rhoda, which shows that such communism as there was was not complete.[9]

Paul believed in steady industry, and supported himself by the labour of his own hands, and in view of the feverish expectation of the second coming of Jesus, he kept exhorting his fellow Christians to do the same. In 1 Cor. xvi., he gives directions concerning the collection for the brethren. Of the Church of Jerusalem he says, "For if the Gentiles have shared their spiritual blessings, they owe them a debt of aid in material blessings."[10]

It is quite clear, then, that the Jerusalem Church did depend on outside help during a considerable number of years—it is also clear that its members during part of that time were severely handicapped by persecutions—it is probable enough that poverty would give a particularly keen edge to denunciations of the rich by Jerusalemite Christians. On the other hand, the outspoken though tactful Paul gives no hint that he considered the Jerusalem Church lazy or pauperized, and fully acknowledges its spiritual leadership.[11]

But moreover the authorship of Ep. James is confessedly doubtful, and is placed by Moffat early in the 2nd century, long after the period we are considering. And we are still faced by the fact that the Gentile Luke, whose environment was Pauline rather than Jacobean, is more Ebionite or socialistic in his teaching than the Jewish Christian editor of Matthew. Moffat does indeed maintain that "the so-called Ebionitism of Luke arises partly from his sources, several of which apparently reflected the suffering, poor churches of Palestine (A.D. 40—70), and partly from the familiar diatribe themes of contemporary Stoicism. The tone of the relevant passages is that of James' epistle, curiously ascetic and more than suspicious of wealth."[12]

Yet some of the strongest sayings on the dangers of wealth are found in other gospels beside Luke's. The "camel and needle's eye" passage occurs in Matthew and in Mark as well as in Luke, so also does the account of Peter, James and John leaving their means of life and following Jesus.[13] On the other hand, in the story about Zacchæus, peculiar to Luke, this head

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[8] Acts iii. 5-9, 12. [9] Acts xii. 13; cp. v. 4.
[10] Rom. xv. 27. [11] Compare p. 33 above.
[12] Introduction to the "Literature of the New Testament," pp. 262, 263.
[13] Matt. xix. 24; Mark x. 25; Luke xviii. 25; Matt. iv. 20; Mark i. 18; Luke v. 11.

tax-farmer retains at least some of his wealth, and receives the blessing of Jesus.[14] Matthew and Mark,[15] not Luke, mention the Baptist's ascetic clothing and food. They also record that Jesus spoke of the blessedness of leaving relations and property (ἀγρους) for his sake, while Luke omits ἀγρους.[16] While Mark says that Joseph of Arimathæa was a man of rank, and Matthew that he was wealthy, Luke emphasises his goodness and rectitude.[17] He is not condemned because he is rich. Jülicher says: "An Ebionite character has been attributed to this gospel (Luke), and efforts made to establish Jewish influence or Jewish sources, very mistakenly, however. There is no tendencious Ebionitising in Luke."[18] But it was no accident that the disciples during the life of Jesus, and later in the early Church, took to a form of voluntary communism. It was the natural thing for followers of Jesus to do. Were they not all one family? Did they not break bread together from house to house? Whatever tendencies in the early Church may have in any way coloured the records of Jesus' teaching on wealth, nothing excuses us from facing the challenge that these passages contain, or softens his protest against the dangers of wealth.[19]

It is at the same time very necessary to look at the teaching of Jesus as a whole, in order to get the right proportion between its different parts.

We turn, therefore, to those passages which would seem to enjoin the faithful trusteeship of goods. Of these, be it noted, Luke records rather more than his share. They are: (1) The Unjust Steward and subsequent comments (Luke xvi. 1-13); (2) The Talents (Matt. xxv. 14-30); (3) The Pounds (Luke xix. 11-27); (4) Sayings such as " To him that hath shall be given " (Mark iv. 25); The Sower (Matt. xiii. 1-9, 18-23, Mark iv. 3-20, Luke viii. 5-15); The Vineyard (Matt. xix. 30—xx. 16); " Render to Cæsar " (Matt. xxii. 15-22, Mark xii. 14-17, Luke xx. 21-26); The Slave who has to serve his master first (Luke xvii. 1-9).

It is not necessary, and it would take too long, to review them all in full detail. Every parable drives home its message by means of a " hammer-head " to which all other features are accessory—we have to find what Jesus is driving at, and why he speaks the particular parable on the particular occasion. Firstly, as to the story of the unjust steward. This story has no very obvious context, except that, like most in this group, it seems to belong to the " last days " and therefore to fall into line with other exhortations to watchfulness and to the use to greatest

14 Luke xix. 1-10. 15 Matt. iii. 4; Mark i. 6-8.

16 Matt. xix. 29; Mark x. 29; Luke xviii. 29.

17 Mark xv. 43; Matt. xxvii. 57; Luke xxiii. 50.

18 " Man hat von dem ebionitischen Charakter dieses Evangeliums gesprochen, und nach den jüdischen Einflussen oder Quellen gesucht: sehr mit Unrecht . . . . von tendenslöser Ebionitisirung des Evangeliums kann bei ihm nicht die Rede sein."—(Einleitung, p. 206.)

19 See also Schweitzer's challenge, quoted in Appendix II. of this book.

advantage of opportunities of all sorts, whether afforded by money or other gifts. The steward is not, of course, set up as a model for Christians except for his cuteness. Christians are to be as shrewd and keen in working for the Kingdom as the steward is for his selfish ends.

But what is the meaning of "Make to yourselves friends ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας"? Edersheim[20] remarks that, as it was addressed to converted tax-gatherers and sinners, the "Mammon of unrighteousness" would have an obvious meaning as the cause, or at least the means, of their sin in the past. The succeeding words about "faithfulness in the unrighteous mammon, and . . . in that which is another's," seem rather to suggest that riches are evil in themselves, yet none the less Christians must use them faithfully. Johannes Weiss believes that the idea that riches are essentially evil is to be attributed to "S" (Luke's special source) rather than to Jesus himself. "With the godless mammon one can after all do nothing better than make with it friends for ever" by giving to those in need.[21] Plummer and others treat "unrighteous mammon" as the wealth that is continually a snare. (Thayer says the probable Hebrew derivation of μαμωνᾶς means "what is trusted in.") The comments that follow the parable have rather the appearance of being "tacked on" to it, and therefore it is unwise to press them far in explanation of the parable. The net moral seems to be, "As you have to live in Society, use faithfully all opportunities and whatever earthly goods come your way for the promotion of the Kingdom of God: on the other hand you can't serve God and gold."

So far we have no definite guidance as to whether whatever property can be so used is to be held communally or individually.

The flattest apparent contradiction to the renunciation teaching is found in the *Parable of the Talents* in Matthew and of *The Pounds* in Luke (Matt. xxv. 14-30, Luke xix. 11-27). It is important to notice that both are found in the midst of discourses about the Second Coming. That in Matthew is preceded by exhortations to watchfulness, and by the parable of the Ten Virgins, and is followed by the account of the Last Judgment. Luke definitely says that Jesus added the Parable of the Pounds "because he was near Jerusalem and because they (his hearers) supposed that the Kingdom of God was immediately to appear." Both parables, therefore, are intended to emphasise the need of watchfulness, and of the immediate using of every opportunity to the utmost. The usurious banking methods described are doubtless simply material used in explanation of a moral truth. The zealous investor, like the unjust steward, is commended for his keenness only. Notice further that the lord or capitalist is

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20 "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," Vol. II., chap. xviii. especially p. 274.

21 Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments," second edition, i. 486 (present writer's translation).

not by any means treated as an ideal type—he admits quite frankly that he is a hard man, reaping where he has not sown; but his slaves have *as slaves* no other duty than to make profit for himself, and they are judged accordingly.[22] So, says Jesus, just as these slaves are expected to render unlimited devotion to their master, so Christians should devote their abilities and resources without limit to the furthering of the Kingdom of God, and, instead of gaping skywards in expectation that a sudden divine miracle would bring it about, should make it their one aim to work for the Kingdom at once here on earth. It is obviously true in the spiritual life that the use of ability leads to more ability, and develops competence for greater tasks. To him who has " made good " (*having* here is rather BEING) is rightly given the chance of doing better. (See context of Matt. xiii. 12.) The main thought of the Parable of the Sower is similar. The taking of the talent or pound from the slothful slave and the giving of it to the man who has ten, rather than to an equally faithful man of less ability, does indeed appear disturbingly undemocratic. But probably it is a vivid Oriental way of emphasising the fact that the man who had shown most capacity was to be entrusted with most responsibility, a point which would be granted by any reasonable Communist. These slaves were still managers, not owners.

The Parable of the Vineyard (Matt. xx.) is immediately preceded by a question from Peter as to what reward he and the other disciples should get, who had left all and followed him. Jesus is reported as saying—although the words (in Matthew only) probably reflect a fond dream cherished in Jewish circles, where was no thought of the inclusion of the Gentiles—that in the coming glory " the Twelve " would sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Returning to the Triple Tradition we read that those who had given up relations or property for Christ's sake were to receive far more and to inherit eternal life. " But many shall be last that are first, and first that are last." The Parable of the Vineyard proceeds to enlarge upon this theme. " While xix. 27-30 speaks of differences in reward," says Johannes Weiss,[23] " here in sharp contrast it is maintained that the reward is the same for all, in spite of difference in the amount of service rendered. It is purposely shown how this arrangement runs counter to the customary judgment of man. The householder appears to act arbitrarily : it is his good pleasure so to dispose of his own property."

But Matthew's purpose here is chiefly to explain the proverb about first and last, and the contrast between the rigid Jewish theory of rewards and the method of God. " For the Jews it is an unheard-of thing that ' the righteous,' . . . such men as John the Baptist, should be reckoned as less in the Kingdom of God

[22] Cp " Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments," i. 385.
[23] " Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments," i. 358

than the poor, the children and sinners. . . . The parable destroys the wage—or reward—idea by the very act of applying it." This idea is no longer adequate to express the religious feeling of Jesus. There is only one reward—the Kingdom, and all who have done the will of God will enter it. If the payment of the full day's wage to the last-comers is treated as an act of grace, it probably corresponds to such passages as Mark ii. 17, Matt. ix. 13, Luke xv. 31-32. "The envious first persons remind one of the Elder Brother of the Prodigal, and this parable, both in thought and form, has a likeness to that of the Prodigal" (cp. also Paul's doctrine of grace).[24]

To build up from this parable, therefore, a social teaching about rights of master and servant, or about a minimum wage, would seem grossly to mistake its real purpose, which has nothing directly to do with property and industry, but rather with a right conception of the grace of God. On the other hand, its indirect implications for the social question strengthen the contention that the gifts of God are for all without exception, and especially that those who are handicapped and unfortunate in the race of life should be dealt with in a spirit of love that goes far beyond anything they can claim as their commercial deserts.

The Parable of the Slave who must serve his master first[25] is commented on as follows by Johannes Weiss, and this comment should be squarely and honestly faced. He says :—

"The attitude to slavery is far from modern. The slave, after he has worked the whole day in the service of his master, must end by serving him at supper; only after this may he eat his own. And he has no claim to any special thanks for it. (The question of wage in the case of a slave does not arise.) Such is the way of the world, and Jesus asks his hearers whether they do not find it quite correct. This is not meant ironically but quite seriously. Jesus does not think of proposing any change. What holds in this sphere of life, holds also in the relationship of man to God. If you have done all that God requires of you, ... you have only done your duty. Here again the Jewish legal viewpoint—that good works give one a claim to reward, and that God is to a certain extent obliged to reward his 'devout'—is countered by the stress on slavery; we belong to God body and soul, to obey him is nothing but our debt and our duty."

I must confess that this parable from Luke's special source ("S") appears at first sight very disturbing to those who seek for democracy in the gospels. There is no word of disapproval of the master's action. He is not here described as an unjust despot, but as a disciple, indeed as an apostle—"Which of *you?*" The emphasis of the parable is clearly centred on the

24 "Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments," i. 359.

25 Luke xvii. 7-10 and "Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments," i. 491. The present writer's translation here is slightly condensed and not quite literal.

spiritual view of service; *i.e.*, that it should be rendered to the utmost without thought of reward. It is clear, too, that the fundamental principles of the gospels make slavery impossible. But, accepting the saying for the moment as it stands, we may rightly raise the question : " Did Jesus himself always realise the implications of his own principles? " Clearly, as we repeatedly find, his mind and character were developing, and he did not always see the whole way all at once. If, however, we consider the poverty and hard labour attaching to his life as a carpenter, it would certainly surprise us to discover that he approved of slavery. Griffith Jones in his " Economics of Jesus " says, " We only find the balance of this parable by comparing it with the others like it. In all of them it is taught most clearly that no man will be allowed to serve God for naught. But . . . only the highest incentives are permissible in his service. . . . Jesus as usual takes an illustration from the life around him. This time it is from the slave-holding class, in which the master has the full and absolute ownership of the slave. The hired servant has rights; the slave has none. . . . '*Even so ye also*'—these are the emphatic words of this parable. The point here is *not how God will act towards us, but how we are to feel toward God.* . . . It is one of the puzzling but unquestionable attributes of conscience that it knows no moment of pause or remission in the assertion of its claims. . . . Human goodness lags ever behind the divine standard."[26]

The crux for us is whether Jesus is so absorbed in his main thought that he does not pause here to condemn slavery. This, as we have seen, is in line with the general principle of parable exposition. But even so it seems extraordinary that he should have used the words " Which of you? " On the face of it one would suppose that, either Luke has misreported the saying (which is not unlikely) or else slave-holding by Christians is unthinkingly condoned by Jesus. There is a similar gruesomeness in Matt. xxv. 30, Luke xii. 46. It may, however, be that, in accordance with his parabolic methods, Jesus here, as elsewhere, simply does not stop to deal with any point subordinate to his argument of the moment, and leaves it to other occasions to lead even his own followers to a sense of the wrongfulness of holding slaves. One wonders anyway how many of them were wealthy enough to do so. If the apostles had left all to follow Jesus, and shared a common purse, they could not have held slaves. This suggests that the " Which of you? " is incorrectly applied to the apostles by Luke and may really have been applied to the Pharisees or other hearers of Jesus, and the change to the third person in verses 8 and 9 strengthens this supposition. If so, the whole difficulty vanishes. In any case these passages, dealing as we have seen primarily with spiritual and not with economic

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26 Op. cit., p. 90 ff.

questions, must be put into relationship not only with the general tenor of the teaching of Jesus, which is overwhelmingly hostile to class distinctions, but also especially with such words as, "Nor must you be called 'leaders,' for one is your leader . . . he who is greatest among you must be your servant," and the definite announcement, "He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives . . . to set free the oppressed, to proclaim the Lord's years of favour (the jubilee years in which Jewish slaves were to be liberated, see p. 19). The whole drift of the gospels is in the direction of condemning slavery: the teaching of Jesus, if applied, makes slavery unthinkable.

Can we then find a point of unity between the renunciation sayings and the so-called "money parables"? The keynote of these parables is zeal, watchfulness, the seizing of opportunities, and all in a spirit of devotion which seeks no reward but the bringing in of the Kingdom. In them, as in the sayings referred to, we find the same utter renunciation of any ends but the highest. But with property they hardly deal in any direct sense. The upshot is that the follower of Jesus must seek the Kingdom first, must make faithful, wise and enterprising use of every sort of opportunity for promoting it, and must trust God for the rest; that riches are a subtle, insidious danger to the human heart, and that the less a man possesses in private ownership the better, but that if a man gives his all for the Kingdom, God will secure to him all that his bodily life needs. This must imply that the Kingdom, being a supremely social organisation, will be God's agent in caring for all who seek it, and that the duty of every disciple is to see to it that no brother or sister is in want.

It is curious that Jesus insists with such vehemence on the moral danger of riches, but never speaks of the moral danger of poverty. Is not the emphasis one-sided? Riches were, however, widely looked upon by the Jews as a sign of God's favour, and to announce blessings upon the *poor* was a startling innovation, even though among a certain set of Jews the term "poor" was applied to "the pious." It may be said that there is in the gospels no conscious propaganda for the abolition of poverty. The same general answer must be made as has been suggested in the case of slavery and other evils. Jesus showed the divine way to life abounding, and left it to his disciples to work out in detail.

Among the great spiritual dangers which Jesus combated were covetousness and arrogance: these were especial snares of the rich. Others that he strove against with equal vigour were anxiety for the morrow, and lack of trust in God: these were especial snares of the poor. As to political action for abolishing poverty, the disciples were not in a position to take such action within a measurable period of time. They must therefore work outwards as leaven from transformed individual lives.

ATTITUDE OF JESUS TO POLITICS.

Was Jesus so absorbed in his religious message as to be indifferent to politics? I believe that this is a great misconception. Are not the wilderness temptations centred in the policy of the Messiah as national deliverer, and do they not express the policies of the leading parties of his age? Mr. Stephen Liberty[27] points out that the parallel in the temptation narratives between the wanderings of Israel and those of Jesus in the wilderness is so obvious as to be clearly intentional. Moreover Jesus, in rebutting each temptation, quotes from the great discourse in Deuteronomy, in which Moses explains what Israel should do in order to possess the Promised Land.[28] The temptation story gains added point by its relation to the choice now before the Jewish people. The Sadducees wish to remain undisturbed in the enjoyment of their privileges, and, whatever else happens, to secure the maintenance of national independence and of their own wealth and power. Thus they " live by bread alone." The Pharisees by zeal for the letter of the law, the Zealots by plotting violent revolt, seek to force God to intervene on their behalf. The people are to cast themselves down to put God to the test, relying on his promise to " keep thee in all thy ways." All these centre their hopes in Jewish national glory, and forget that their true task is the healing of all the nations. This true task the rulers will not accept. They ask Jesus for a sign, but if he will give them one at all it is the sign of Jonah, who, rebuked of God for his narrow nationalism, was commanded to summon a Gentile city to repent and be saved The third and greatest temptation (according to Matthew), if it is not concerned with the programme of the Zealots, as many scholars hold, suggests a policy free from their methods of violence and strife—the Herodians' plan of a working arrangement with Rome, combined with the peaceful penetration of the Gentile borders of Palestine, thus gradually absorbing the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. Jesus, however, saw that the method of Herod involved recognition of the worship of Cæsar alongside that of God. The enervating influence of heathen practices would sap the life and emasculate the message of Judaism. But for Jesus there could be no divided loyalty. No man can render supreme allegiance both to God and to Cæsar. " What shall it profit a man (or a nation) if he gain the whole world and forfeit his best self? "

The hope of the world lay in at least saving the purity of Judaism from further dilution, while at the same time renouncing its exclusiveness.

The national policy of Jesus toward Rome seems to have been as follows: The Jews should repent of their exclusiveness and

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27 "The Political Relations of Christ's Ministry."

28 Especially Deut. viii. 3, vi. 16, vi. 13-15

should freely share their glorious message and inheritance with all the nations of the earth.

Such a policy, without admitting Cæsar-worship in the slightest, held out a prospect of avoiding the frightful collision with Rome which actually took place, and might have given time for the leaven of the Kingdom of God to work in peace, and to extend as God would show the way.

Jesus on the whole advises the payment of the tribute-money. Coinage in ancient days, because it bore the image and inscription of king or emperor, was widely regarded as his personal property. "You admit you are using Cæsar's coins," he says to the Pharisees (with perhaps the added hint, "You yourselves know you have more than once asked for Roman help"). "Pay Cæsar whatever belongs to him, but be the more sure you pay to God the infinitely greater amount that belongs to *him*.[29] These Herods and other kings exact tribute not of their sons, but of strangers. We are sons of the supreme King and therefore our allegiance is first and last to him, but let us avoid giving offence wherever the interests of the greater kingdom are not compromised. Go and catch a fish, Peter, sell it, and pay the tribute for us both."

And now as to the question left over from Chapter I.—"Could a violent revolt against Rome have succeeded, and if it had, would it have brought a greater liberation than was actually effected by Christianity?"

Prof. Gwatkin says:—[30]

"It was quite possible to break the yoke of Rome, if Jesus of Nazareth had cared to do it. . . . But . . . the badness [of those who actually attempted revolt] was itself the outcome of a deeper evil. A victory over Rome would only have subjected a rotten Gentile world to a rotten Jewish nation."

The Jews were practically the only people who had retained their national consciousness under Roman rule. They were an outpost of the Empire, facing outwards to the East as well as inwards to the West. Their downfall in the great war of A.D. 70 was largely owing to disunion and bad leadership. There were therefore at any rate great possibilities before Jesus, had he chosen to rally the faithful for a war of liberation. But Jesus (as the first wilderness temptation suggests) looked far beyond the problem of mere national survival to the establishment of a world-order where men should live for the good of all.

It may be said that on the whole there was a higher morality and a sturdier independence among the Jews than anywhere else in the Roman empire. But to free the Jews by war would have

29 Tertullian interprets it: "Render," says he, "what is Cæsar's to Cæsar, and what is God's to God, that is, the image of Cæsar which is on the coin to Cæsar, and the image of God which is in man to God, so that thou render to Cæsar money, to God thyself. Else what shall be God's if all belong to Cæsar?"

30 "Early Church History," i., p. 54, as quoted by Liberty op. cit. p. 55.

led to an increase in all that fanaticism and exclusiveness which made the realisation of God's Kingdom impossible. Jesus demanded a change of heart in his nation (especially towards foreigners) which its rulers persisted in opposing. Jewish Jingoism was the negation of the greater hope for which he gave his life, and therefore the seed must be sown among a few disciples until God in his time would make of it a great tree that would astonish all beholders.

THE METHOD OF INSTITUTING THE KINGDOM.

We all agree, no doubt, that universal brotherhood is a great ideal: the trouble comes when we get down to methods of bringing it about. Would Jesus ever approve of a war of liberation, or of a forcible overthrow of an oppressive economic system or a tyrannous government? Would he ever sanction a strike or lock-out, or did he believe the whole world-order can be changed by spiritual influence alone? If so, is his morality a slave-morality, or is it " fit for heroes "?

Jesus was a supreme educationalist. He does not do our thinking for us, he challenges us that we may think ourselves. He gives us no Bradshaw or ordnance survey of the route ahead, but shows us our sordid fears, our petty selfishness, in the white light of eternal truth and in contrast with the glow of his boundless love. To clear our brains and sharpen our wits he takes us up on to the mountain top where the gales of heaven blow, but, having shown us life on a new and higher level, he leaves to *us* the decision how to use this inspiration.

Now Jesus staked his all on the truth that God's love was stronger than all the forces of evil. He challenged the latter in the most direct of all ways by living out this great principle even to the point of perishing in the attempt.

His ideal of a human family, whose least member was of measureless value, meant that nothing should be done which should in any way injure " one of these least." It is easy for us to love our friends (we profiteers love those that love us), it is politic to greet our social equals in the street (we snobs do that). If, however, we would deserve the name of Christian, we must make for ourselves a world so utterly different from all this, that its citizens do terrific acts like loving their enemies. Can I love my enemy by blowing out his brains, or by rotting away his lungs with " mustard gas "? Nay more, if I kill him with my mouth, or blacken him with nasty-spirited small talk, if I think supercilious thoughts of him in my heart, is it not another form of murder? " Ridiculous utopianism, all this," say our traditional selves, in a hundred acts and looks, " quite contrary to what you can expect of human nature." " Be ye therefore perfect," says the Challenger, " even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect."

The Sermon on the Mount suggests the most thoroughgoing doctrine of what, wrongly called non-resistance, ought to be called *moral resistance.* At every point, and to the ultimate extreme, an enemy must be countered not by violence but by abounding generosity. A sinning brother must be forgiven to x times, and " x " here equals infinity. The passages on the other hand which have been adduced to show that Jesus condoned war or violence seem to me entirely inconclusive.

" Wars and rumours of wars . . . must needs come to pass " (Mark xiii. 7) is no more a condonation of war than " It must needs be that offences " (hindrances) " come " is a condonation of hindrances (Matt. xviii. 7).

" I come not to bring peace but a sword " (Matt. x. 34) goes on, " I have come to set a man against his father, a daughter against her mother . . . yea a man's own household will be his enemies. . . . He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me."[81]

If Jesus really came to bring a sword, he came also to bring family quarrels as well! Obviously what he meant was that his coming would be a moral challenge: some would accept and some refuse.

" ' When I sent you out with neither purse nor wallet . . . did you want for anything? ' ' No,' they said, ' for nothing.' Then he said to them, ' But he who has a purse must take it now, and the same with a wallet; and he who has no sword must sell his coat and buy one. For I tell you, this word of scripture must be fulfilled in me: *" He was classed among the criminals."* Yes, there is an end to all that refers to me.' ' Lord,' they said, ' here are two swords! ' ' Enough! enough! ' he answered " (Luke xxii. 35-38, Moffat's trans.).

Two explanations are given of this. One, that Jesus, knowing his own end was certain, refused to defend himself, but advised his followers to look to their own defence (an inconsistent attitude surely!) The other, that, having just warned Peter of his coming denial, he was emphasising in a figurative way the extreme urgency of the situation, and the need for entire preparedness. (We remember that the disciples went to sleep in Gethsemane.) What does " enough " mean? Two swords were obviously not enough defence for twelve men. When one disciple used his sword Jesus sternly rebuked him with the words " Put your sword back into its place; all who draw the sword will die by the sword." " What! " he says, " do you think I cannot appeal to my Father to furnish me at this moment with over twelve legions of angels? " and to the crowd he adds, " Have you sallied out to arrest me (an unresisting man) like a robber, with swords and clubs? "[82]

[81] Matthew x. is taken by Schweitzer to refer to the sending out of the disciples. I incline to believe it is a conflation, and that much of it refers to a later date.

[82] Matt. xxvi. 52-55.

It is therefore likely that the advice to buy a sword was never meant to be taken literally. The passage certainly caused difficulty to the Early Church. One of the great Syrian commentators puts it, "Our Lord allowed men to take wallets and swords, *like men who cease from confidence in him, saying* 'It is not my word that ye are thus about to do.'" In many copies instead of "let him buy a sword and take it" it is written "pray for your enemies."[33]

Tertullian says, "The Lord, by his disarming of Peter, disarmed every soldier from that time forward."[34] Not a few Christians in the first few centuries are known to have suffered martyrdom for refusal to serve in the army. Of the period up to about 200 A.D. Harnack says, "At that time in the Christian Churches such a question (*i.e.*, whether a Christian might be a soldier) did not exist."[35] He further points out that we have every reason to suppose that in those days no Christian *became* a soldier. Celsus, the opponent of Christianity, asks what would become of the empire if all its inhabitants were Christians and *therefore* refused to fight?[36]

The Kingdom of Jesus was not "of this world," just as he himself was "not of the world," and the disciples were to be "not of the world." Thus its methods were the opposite of those of Cæsar and Herod.[37] The casting out of the temple dealers was, as we have said, an act of moral protest in prophetic style. The scourge of small cords is only mentioned in John and is used to drive out the beasts.[38] The overturning of the tables was an act of violence to stolen property, not to man. The incident is on a parallel with the denunciations of the religious masquerading of the Pharisees and scribes.

What, then, is the root of the problem of method? Jesus stands for a love of men so intense that it wins them for the right by the power of attraction, instead of attempting the impossible task of dragooning them to it against their will. The method of persuasion or attraction is the only one which is psychologically effective. Even if men could be dragooned into outwardly good behaviour, they would seek to rebel or evade as soon as they got the chance, whereas men who are won and convinced will love to do right of their own accord.

It follows that the only really effective form of society is one based upon consent. Men have tried the so-called "short cut" of coercion for thousands of years, and have constantly created

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33 Quoted from William E. Wilson, "Christ and War," pp. 17, 18.

34 Ibid., p. 22 Johannes Weiss, commenting on the rebuke to Peter, says, "Defence with the sword is not only contrary to the spirit of Jesus but to that of the whole of primitive Christianity." "D.S.N.T." i. 392.

35 "Militia Christi," p. 47, quoted in "Christ and War," p. 70. 36 Ibid., pp. 70, 71.

37 Heitmüller, in "Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments," takes "My kingdom is not of this world" to mean "I am not a political king" (and therefore dangerous to Pilate); but cp. John xviii. 36 with John xv. 19; xvii. 6, 14.

38 John ii. 15, cp. Matt. xxi. 12, 13, Mark xi. 15-17.

hell on earth. Of this the recent war has been the crowning example, and the so-called " peace " that has followed it seems little better. But if Jesus believed in a thorough-going method of persuasion, why did he denounce the Pharisees and scribes and clear the temple courts? It is clear that he did try persuasion with the rulers as with the mass of the people, and rejoiced when he could say of a scribe " thou art not far from the Kingdom of God "[39] or that " every scribe who has become a disciple of the Kingdom brings forth . . . new and old " treasure.[40] But as in the main religious leaders sought position and power, and rejected the message which threatened these, Jesus turned to warning, to challenge and even perhaps to denunciation. Jesus' denunciations of the Pharisees often jar on us (who after all do not know them as he did), but it is probable the harshness of many of these sayings is due to the strong resentment and prejudice of the Early Church (especially as reported in the Fourth Gospel). Remember also that " woe unto you " should be translated " alas for you "—an expression of sorrow and anxiety as in the phrase " Woe unto them who are with child " at the destruction of Jerusalem.[41]

It may be urged that had Jesus omitted the denunciations he would have carried out his own principle more fully, yet it may also be that a stinging challenge was required to rouse these blind guides and their followers to the falseness of their whole position. We forget that though love never destroys personality it can never tolerate evil. But it overcomes evil not with evil, but with good. To find out exactly how this is best done is the task of each one of us.

To some extent Jesus failed—in certain cases " he could not do mighty works because of their unbelief "—that is the penalty of God's method of giving man self-government—man can and does reject the truth. And therefore Jesus played the last and greatest card of his unique method—he died a criminal's death for the men who rejected him. From the point of view of the man in the street could failure be more abject? But by that very failure to cut his way through and " save his cause " he has given the forces of evil the greatest challenge they ever received.

" His death was his greatest act of social service. His cross was the climax of the world evil and the turning point of history toward a definite and permanent emancipation and redemption of the race. All the great permanent forces of evil in humanity were strangely combined in the drama of his death: bigotry, priestcraft, despotism, political corruption, militarism, and the mob spirit. They converged on him and did him to death. But he is alive, and now it is their turn." [42]

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39 Mark xii. 34. 40 Matt. xiii. 52.
41 Matt. xxiv. 19; Mark xiii. 17; Luke xxi. 23.
42 Rauschenbusch, "Christianising the Social Order," p. 68.

Jesus had thrown a fiery torch into the world. Had he compromised with Rome or Zealotism its fire would have been damped down or put out. Instead, it is our beacon of hope to-day. Most of us, though we don't live it, hold in theory perhaps that whereas death is no dishonour, to do evil is always dishonourable. Therefore we should suffer death ourselves rather than inflict an injury on any living soul. (By the way, does our buying and selling and general mode of life illustrate this belief?)

But how are we to behave toward individuals, governments or other bodies who injure, or threaten to injure, the weak or oppressed? Does Jesus give us any guidance here?

We have seen already that he refused to take the sword to free the Jews from servitude to Rome, that in fact the problem of that sort of direct action was so much a burning one with him that it formed one of the greatest of his temptations. Galilee was full of inflammable material in his day, and a few words from him would have kindled a revolt. He himself deliberately faced the hostile authorities of Jerusalem knowing it would lead to his death, but he advised his followers when persecuted in one town to flee unto the next.[43] When Jerusalem should be encompassed with armies, those in Judæa had best flee to the hills, and those in Jerusalem escape.[44]

If these passages are genuine the point may be that Jesus was looking especially to the propaganda of his message and did not want the disciples to perish with the destruction of Jerusalem.

But are the strong not to use force to protect the weak? How does love unto death function here? The true follower of Jesus will love both the bully *and* the child, the oppressor *and* oppressed. He will regard every human personality, capitalist or proletarian, British or German, black, yellow or white, as sacred. Such an attitude as has been shown in the history of the Early Church or that of early Pennsylvania is a far more effective instrument of reformation than any number of troops or police. The Christian will only be justified (*if* at all) in destroying personality if thereby he can be certain of enhancing the value of other personalities by more than the destruction.

I doubt extremely if such a thing can be done, and whether the weak *are* protected by it. The moral power a man gains over his enemy by loving him is largely or entirely nullified if he tries to combine with it the use of violence, or to inflict a penalty for the evil deed. The Christian method is "If your enemy is hungry, feed him . . . for in this way you will make him feel a burning sense of shame."[45]

No method for the defence of the weak or oppressed is infallibly successful. Certainly armed violence is not, witness the recent reprisals in Ireland and in the great war. Where did women

[43] Matt. x. 23. [44] Luke xxi. 21. [45] Romans xii. 16-21.

and children suffer most, in Brussels where there was no resistance or in Louvain where there was, in unresisting Luxembourg or in Belgium and Northern France? On the other hand, the *whole way of life advocated by Jesus is the opposite of passive—it is at every moment an overcoming of evil by good*—it is white-hot high-power energy for the welding of mankind into unity. How was it that, while neighbouring colonies were at war with the Indians, the Friends of Pennsylvania could leave their children in charge while they went to meetings?

But is it really safe to trust in good will? Not always. It was not *safe* for Jesus, nor for the Christian martyrs. They did not save their skins, but they called forth the admiration of pagans and won many converts. When had the Christian Church the noblest life, in the days of her persecution or the days of her prosperity? Christianity made its way by "operating against tremendous odds without the use of any sort of violent resistance. . . . Would anyone seriously argue that that suffering would have been diminished, or better results achieved for the world at large or for the sufferers themselves, if from the first Christian men had acted upon the principle that, while ready themselves to submit meekly, it was their duty to defend others, if need be, by force and bloodshed? When Plinius tortured two Bithynian deaconnesses, and when Sabina was threatened at Smyrna with being sentenced to the brothel, no Christian knight came forward to prevent the wrong by force of arms or perish in the attempt. Sabina said simply, in answer to the threat: 'The holy God will see about that.' There must have been innumerable instances of Christians deliberately abstaining from the defence of one another. Such conduct, amazing as it may seem to us, does not argue callousness, still less cowardice, for cowards could never have endured torture with the constancy normally shown by the Christian martyrs. It simply means a strenuous adherence to the Master's teaching—an adherence based indeed on a simple sense of obedience to him, but issuing, as posterity can see, in the exertion of an immense positive moral power, and involving, in a situation from which conflict and suffering in some measure were inseparable, probably a less severe conflict and a smaller amount of suffering than any other course of conduct consistent with faithfulness to the Christian religion would have involved."[46]

The crux of the question for many of us is, "Can we act in a Christian way in a non-Christian society?" The fate of Jesus proves that even he was often not able to make the Christian way immediately or outwardly successful. And so men shelve it as impracticable . they fear to make the great venture, and instead resort to force. This again creates the conditions that make the great venture too hard and risky for the mass of mankind to accept, and so the vicious circle continues.

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[46] Cadoux, "The Early Christian Attitude to War," pp 88, 89

I have said that armed violence of any kind generates a spirit of rancour and ill-will that poisons the springs of action and frustrates the very work of abolishing it. Strikes and lock-outs tend to do the same. It is not for those of us whose bread is secure to blame the man who withholds his labour when it is exacted under unjust conditions, especially when he is one of the chief sufferers, and deliberately endures suffering without resorting to violence. It is cant for the well-fed and comfortable to blame the worker for refusing to maintain the non-worker in idleness. Yet clearly our whole industrial warfare is a symptom of social disease. Men on both sides in the class struggle should aim to secure an industrial system in which justice, co-operation, and harmony shall reign, remembering that the only Christian social order is one in which class is entirely abolished. The Early Church may perhaps in some points have slipped into a slave morality (e.g., toward the Roman authorities), but Jesus himself said, "Call no man father on earth . . . nor must you be called leaders, for one is your leader even the Christ"[47], thereby abolishing the master class as such, and with it the serf class, from his new Society.

The position of all of us who are enmeshed in a system which we hate and long to abolish is often thorny. A Trade Unionist friend of mine who is also an active "Pacifist"[48] is often worried about the question of method, but his chances of obtaining a full and frank discussion with members of the Employers' Federation are almost nil. Many employers are equally troubled, and anxious to find a way out. Can a Christian be a magistrate, or a mayor, where he may have to read the Riot Act, can he send prisoners to gaol under our vengeful and stupid prison system, can he act as a statesman responsible for so much unchristian international action? Still more, if he is already doing these things must he resign? Can a Christian be an employer or a capitalist, or even a Trade Unionist?

Now Jesus told his disciples to leave all and follow him, but apparently, according to his usual custom of getting people to think for themselves, he left the manner of it to their judgment. Matthew left the receipt of custom, but Zacchaeus quite possibly attempted to live honestly within the system. Joseph of Arimathæa did not give up all his money, and Mary the mother of Mark still had Rhoda as a maidservant. To leave these matters to their own decision was not licence, it was self-government, and the responsibility on the individual was so much the greater.

These questions, then, must largely be left to the individual conscience. We are to be revolutionaries, not reformists, for the old wine skins cannot contain the new wine. It is for all who

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47 Matt. xxiii. 9

48 I dislike the word "pacifist," because, to borrow a metaphor from Spurgeon, it suggests people who "fight with cold pudding instead of hot shot." My friend is a "hot shot" pacifist, but of the constructive not destructive variety.

benefit by the old order to do everything possible to speed the change. Yet even while the old order is crumbling we must build the new, and that by methods consistent with our aim. Each of us must take heed how we hear, and never keep our eyes off the ideal. The disciple of to-day must not merely live simply and "pull his weight"; he must seek the way of reconcilement with his brother in every possible way, while yet never allowing himself to tolerate any reconciliation with injustice. We are all personally inconsistent. So in a sense is every growing and mentally expanding person. Jesus probably could not help benefiting by slave labour. But the test is, Are we seeking *first* the Kingdom of God and his righteousness? That is a tremendous question, but it is the main question, and our duty is not to worry but to face it in the power of God.

The problem of method is not primarily one of force or non-force, but of how best to secure scope for personality.

A certain amount of restraining force may in certain cases be consistent with a spirit of love in dealing with some criminals and lunatics. On the other hand, many of these were just the people Jesus healed by the magnetic power of his personality. Moreover, human nature has such vast undeveloped possibilities that all cases where force now appears necessary may be dealt with in the future by far more effective methods. What then of the deliberate devising of poison gases, the cold-blooded training of men to stab their fellow beings in the most vital parts? Are not these the entire negation of human fellowship and of the hope of the future?

Magnificent as has been the sacrificing spirit of so many soldiers in war, I do not myself see how a follower of Jesus can *understandingly or consistently* take part in warfare, or how the Church can give such a course of action its blessing.

The way of Jesus is not always safe. *But it is the only path to safety for the human race.* There are two possible courses now before mankind. Either the continuation of natural mistrust based upon the organisation of industry and finance for private gain, its corollary being more armaments, creating more mistrust, and its end a series of world-wars fought with poison gases and bacteria so deadly that the race may be wiped out.

Either that—or, Society may save itself in time by organising itself on the principles of Mutual Aid. Incidentally Kropotkin shows that these are the most effective for ensuring race survival. The principles of Mutual Aid are the principles of Jesus. I write this book with the longing to contribute my mite to the saving of humanity before it is too late.

SUMMARY OF PART ONE.

Jesus shows us God, not as a far off despot, but as the father of all mankind, caring for every human being (and even for the sparrows) so intimately that not a hair perishes without his knowledge. It follows that the whole world is one great family, and that what God wants is that all its members should care as much for one another as he does for them. A society based on these principles Jesus calls the Kingdom of God, and to found it on earth is the object of his life and death. Within it there can be no separating distinctions of nationality, property, class or colour. Every human being as such is of infinite value, an end in himself, yet a member of the whole Body of Christ, and the disciple should rather perish himself than injure the least of his fellow human beings. The Kingdom begins in the heart of man, but extends outwards until it includes and transforms the whole world, not by violence, but by the power of love, service, and joy. Where these do not prevail it challenges and suffers.

The earth is the Lord's, and property exists only for the good of all. Human beings are of infinitely more value than goods, for the only purpose of goods is to support and enrich the life of human beings. All profiteering, all heaping up treasure for oneself while others go short, is therefore sacrilege against God. To play with riches is to play with fire, and the natural outcome of the teaching of Jesus is the voluntary communism of the Twelve and of the Early Church—"of one heart and soul, not one of them said that aught of the things that he possessed was his own." That the experiment was not maintained in that heathen age makes it all the more urgent that we should build up a Society now upon the principle of all for each and each for all. Most of us have hardly the slightest idea how great are the unexplored possibilities of human nature. Because Jesus believed in man he was able to utter with confidence the boldest challenge that has ever been launched, "Ye (individuals and society) therefore shall be perfect, even as your Heavenly Father is perfect."

And the method of action for us if we would be Christians? To love and serve all men even unto death rather than injure a single one of them—realising that they and we are one and can never be separated—to hope to the uttermost and treat no man as an enemy, to strive to the last to persuade and convince, even though at times there may be need to rebuke, to take from the social product no more than we need for healthy life and effective service, to give to Society the fullest and best work we can, to "live in the virtue of that life and power that takes away the occasion of all wars"—these are the only methods on which the

citizens of the Kingdom must rely: they are a direct challenge to our armies and navies, our penal system, our class warfare and the whole acquisitive basis of our industrial system; but again, what is Christianity if not the greatest challenge the world has ever known?

PART II.

FROM THE OLD SOCIETY TO THE NEW.

CHAPTER I.

The Present Chaos.

Our social evils—Ethical standards of Mediæval industry—The Class struggle a religious question—An experience of the writer as a labourer—A shop steward "gets the sack"—The fear of unemployment cows men—"If Jesus had been a married man"—Industrial success calls for self-assertion—Cutting each other's throats—Tragedies behind curtained windows—Prospects of Old Age—And of the working class child—Conditions in a Lancashire Weaving Shed—Lip-service to Jesus useless—The Iron Heel—The lot of the Labourer—A disinherited People—A fundamental warfare of interests—What is the remedy?

WHAT is wrong with the old Society? We think at once of wars, slums, unemployment, prostitution, drink, tyranny, bondage of soul, the all too frequent arrogance of the possessor, the servility or fierce rebellion of the dispossessed. In contrast to all this, we have seen that the reign of God on earth means that mankind is to be one family in God, each member with the status of a free man and a brother, each serving the common good. The Kingdom therefore can brook no serfs, no overlords responsible only to themselves. Our present industrial system violates these principles of the Kingdom. It reduces many of those who toil hardest to a condition of drudgery and insecurity which may well be called serfdom, and it values a man according to his success in taking toll of the products of labour, not according to his service to mankind.

The Mediæval Church, whatever its faults, gave ethical purpose to social and industrial life; the succeeding reaction led to such a riot of individualism that property rights became above challenge, and the unlimited pursuit of economic self-interest was exalted into a social gospel. This philosophy produces *War*. Both employer and wage-earner struggle for the largest share they can get of the product, and *no ethical principle of service or human need* governs industry, to set limits to the claims of either side. However high the wages, however benevolent the employer, this fundamental antagonism *of interests* remains. Such a state of things is unchristian, it is a religious rather than economic question. Some time ago by way of experiment I applied for a labourer's job at some big works in the Midlands, and was put on to shovel slag. I started at 7.30 a.m., and by three o'clock in the afternoon was about "pumped out," and from then on could do little but long for closing time. On going home I went straight to bed. The next morning I started again at 7.30, worked until nine; and at nine o'clock, without one word of warning, I "got the sack." I asked if I could be taken on as fitter's labourer. The reply was, "Our rule is that no man who

is dismissed from one branch of the works can be taken on at another." I went outside and sat down by the road, and was able pretty vividly to enter into the feelings of a man who had a dependent family and no other resources. Magna Charta says that "no freeman shall be dispossessed . . . or in any way brought to ruin, save by the equal judgment of his peers. . ." Though fairly strong, I may not have been efficient—many men lose jobs through no fault of their own and have to attempt work to which they are unused—the point is that I was dispossessed arbitrarily, not in any sense by the equal judgment of my fellow-labourers, but by a "boss" who had all the economic overlordship on his side. The labourer's life is thus dependent upon the will of another, who has the power to say, "I can make you provide the good things upon which I may live at ease, or if you are not efficient enough for it to pay me to employ you, you are not efficient enough to live. You possess value only as an industrial machine, not as a human being."

This kind of treatment embitters men, and almost certainly damages their self-respect. It is not easy for them to think in a brotherly way of the well-to-do. We need to find fellowship with all men as men, and for that reason we must find a co-operative system of industry, in which serfdom and irresponsible power are alike abolished, in which the life of "the least of these" is exalted above all considerations of property, and the idea of service is made the very foundation of industrial organisation.[1]

Some weeks after this experience I received the following letter from a friend of mine, a cotton operative, one of the best and most earnest of men.[2] He wrote:

"You know what it is to be sacked at a moment's notice—to have the plank kicked from under your feet and flung into the abyss. This is what has happened to X.Y.,[3] but in your case you had not to come home and tell your wife that the foundations of the home had slipped into the abyss.

"It happened on this wise. On Friday afternoon his employer sent for him, and told him he would have to finish. X Y. asked him, 'What for?' 'Well,' he said, 'we've been going into costings and find you have not been turning out your machines as quickly as usual.' [X.Y. says that on a six weeks' job he took the equivalent of four days longer than a war-time standard. This standard was achieved as the result of a special appeal to patriotism, and the employer promised at the time he would not take advantage of it. When the war was over

[1] The above paragraphs are quoted with slight alteration from an article I wrote for "The Torch" For further treatment see R H Tawney, "The Acquisitive Society", Fred Henderson, "The Case for Socialism', and J Bruce Glaisyer, "The Meaning of Socialism"

[2] I shall take the liberty to quote at some length both this letter and some thoughts on our existing industrial system which he wrote at my request, because I believe they will throw a great deal of light upon the causes of the present unrest, and reveal to some who may not be entirely familiar with it, the outlook of one of our most thoughtful working men

[3] The present writer knows X Y quite well personally, and esteems him highly

the "war finish" was no longer accepted, yet the work was expected to be done in the same time as before. The foreman admitted before the Trade Union District Committee that the time X.Y.'s employer was taking as standard was the wartime standard.] When the men heard it who work with him, they said, 'We'll raise hell in this place till we get to know really what he has been stopped for.' Whether the foreman heard them or not is not quite certain, but they were sent for and paid up, the employer giving as his reason that they could have produced more if they had wanted. X.Y. has worked at this place for six years, and never had a wrong word said to him all the time." (Another firm in the district, though advertising a vacancy through the Labour Exchange, refused to take him) "What happens is this, that all the employers in the engineering trade in this district have a system of character notes, and when a person offers for a job, they always ring up his last firm and enquire as to his character, so that if a man is an agitator, no matter how good a workman, he stands little chance of getting a job, as they do not want his presence to corrupt the good manners of their workpeople. . . He always said he would be first to be sacked, as he has been the shop steward, and could generally get over his employer in an argument when trouble arose. . . . The shop-steward is the first to be sacked, especially if he has been aggressive, and refused to be tamed. The employers think, and rightly too, that a spell of unemployment will do this most effectively. . . . Under capitalism the lives and homes of the workers and their dependents are placed absolutely at the mercy of the employer—to thwart his plans or his will is to risk the abyss. He holds the keys of life or death."

The fear of unemployment is always with the weekly wage-earner, and makes him tame and amenable to the discipline and commands of his employer. The fear of "the sack" is always present, and keeps many a man from taking an active part in the Trade Union and Labour Movement.

"In some factories the decree has gone forth that no Socialist is to be promoted—in others attempts are made to 'tame' a man by giving him promotion. Few employers care to have an aggressive shop-steward in their workshop or factory, and both methods are adopted to make him less aggressive. The more his feeling of responsibility for his home and his children, the stronger is the temptation to succumb.

"At a shed where I worked they had been allowing us to read at our work. Then they changed their minds and put up a notice that any one caught reading would be subject to instant dismissal. The day the notice was posted up, the fore-

man said to me, 'How dost tou like it?' I told him my views, but as he was no good at arguing, he pulled out his gun to clinch the argument. 'If tou doesn't like it then—well, tou knows what to do.' I told him that I was only a wage-slave and should have to obey whether I liked it or not. . . .

"I have often wished that Jesus had been a married man, so that we could have seen how he would have faced this problem.[4]

"For success in the industrial system one has to be ready to follow the second best. It calls out all those qualities necessary for self-assertion. A man has to stand out for his own hand, regardless of the effect upon others, even though he knows his success will mean their ruin.

"Jesus said the meek were to inherit the earth, but this cannot be under capitalism. . . . I have had a short experience on 'the road,' and shall never forget the remark of a man in ——. After I had shown my samples and quoted my terms, he replied, 'You are all on the same game.' 'What's that?' 'Cutting each other's throats,' he said. To which I answered, 'Yes, and if I do not get someone's throat cut, they will soon cut mine.' We may cut one another's throats in the most Christlike spirit, but it is cutting one another's throats all the same." My friend goes on to describe how this industrial insecurity affects a man's outlook and his spiritual life. Speaking firstly of the prospect of old age, he says:—

"In the case of the well-to-do there is some prospect of peace and quiet at eventide, but with the worker the thought of old age is always darkened by shadows; there is the prospect of ill-health, of inability to work, and so of becoming a burden to others.

"A large number of the real tragedies of life are not to be found in the slums, but behind clean doorsteps, curtained windows and a respectable appearance. A brother and sister may have denied themselves of marriage and of many of the comforts of life in order to support ailing parents. More often an unmarried sister is bearing the burden, wearing out her life with the task."

Details of broken lives follow, which the present writer feels for personal reasons that it is inadvisable to quote. The letter proceeds:—

"We sometimes wonder whether there will be peace at eventide. One thing we have resolved to do—we are not going to 'nip and scrape' in order to save enough to keep us out

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4 It is generally believed from the silence about Joseph in the Gospels and the mention of the mother, brothers and sisters, that Jesus was the chief bread-winner of the family until he took up the work of his public ministry. In that case he would be "on his own" and not working for an employer, though beset with all the difficulties and struggles of the "small man."

of the workhouse. We have seen so many cases where people have done this, have denied themselves of every luxury and of many of the comforts of life in order to save for old age, and then when they have grown old *dared not spend their money for fear it would not last out.*

"This is an aspect of the stint wage which is ever present with us of the weekly wage-earning class.

It is all very well to talk about the benefits of competition when one has established a monopoly for himself and the members of his household, and so is secure from the abyss, but what of those whose only security from it is good employment, and who are never above a few months or at most a few years from the workhouse?

My informant now gives his views of the working-class child's career and prospects.

"I have always been struck with this contrast between the children of the well-to-do and those of the worker, that the children of the former are taught self-possession and independent action from birth. The worker's child may be more precocious, and when sent into the factory this develops into 'cheekiness,' but for real self-possession and independence he cannot compare with the child of the well-to-do. The one is born and trained to command, the other to obey. . . . The worker's child enters the factory just when the child of the well-to-do is entering upon a period of school life, which will enable him to live the life of youth at its fullest in school and on the playing-field, and to test his faculties in every direction, so that he has full opportunity for self-expression and to find out what he is capable of.

"The factory lad enters the factory or weaving shed to learn to perform a mechanical task. The quicker he is, the more imagination he possesses, the more monotonous the work becomes. Why should the worker's child have to work in a factory during the day, with only the evening for recreation and study, while the well-to-do youth divides his time between recreation and study, with long holidays for travel?

"So the factory child grows up to manhood, a 'hand' obeying the rule of others for the greater part of his working hours, without any call being made upon his capacity for co-operation and service."

CONDITIONS IN A LANCASHIRE WEAVING SHED.

Let me now quote from the letter of a young woman, a Lancashire weaver, whom I know personally.

"The shed where I work contains 96 looms, placed two facing two, or three facing three.

"There are no humidifiers used in this shed, but adjoining

is what is termed the taping room, in which steam is released to such an extent that the average temperature is 85 degrees. This affects the temperature of the shed, which averages about 65 degrees. In this taping room they have a size-mixer, and the stench is something that cannot be put in writing.

" . . . Owing to the friction of the threads during the weaving, the dust (dried size) is thrown off to such an extent that the looms are covered to the depth of one inch in two days. We are covered from head to foot, and appear to have been dipped in a sack of flour. Of course, I swallow my share as well. The oil flies off the pulleys and looms, also off the gearing-wheels, which are fastened to the wall on which our clothes are hung. There is no accommodation for drying our clothes when we are caught in rain-storms, etc., except over the steam boilers, which is not a clean place, considering the great amount of coal dust which is always flying about.

" Shuttle-kissing is still the order of the day. This consists of drawing the thread of the cop, when the latter has been skewered, through the eye of the shuttle. The taste is not exactly sweet, as some of the weft is stored in damp cellars, causing it to be mildewed. So it is not surprising that many of us require artificial teeth, and lung and stomach troubles are the rule and not the exception.

" . . . Shuttles . . . have sharp pointed steel tips at each end . . . it is very common for them to fly out of the loom. I myself have had my front teeth knocked out and my lip cut, and my brother has had his forehead cut open with flying shuttles. A weaver at our place had her chin cut open a few weeks ago with her shuttle flying out. This meant an enforced rest, for which she received half her weekly wage as compensation (to say nothing of the pain and mark). It has been estimated that on entering a shuttle box a calico shuttle strikes a picker with a force equal to a one pound weight falling three feet.

" At our place (also at other places where I have worked) there is no convenience for washing our hands and faces except a cold water tap (no bowls of any kind). The closets (two for each sex) are of rather ancient design, that is on the tub system. They are emptied once weekly. There are about 48 women weavers, so you will guess what state the closets will be in prior to being emptied. (There is only a door between the above and the shed.) "

The writer's brother adds: " In one group of mills, whose owner recently left a large fortune, it was common knowledge that a dozen weavers fainted on an average daily. If you were to go in you would think you were in prison. Every door is locked, and the foremen are supplied each with a bunch of keys."

His sister continues: "This place where I work is ideal . . . in comparison with others I have worked in. In the shed where I learned to weave, the heat was such that some three or four weavers used to faint—and had to be carried outside—in the course of one day. Many have had hairbreadth escapes from becoming entangled in the machinery.

"In this same place they had humidifiers. As a result of these, on arriving home at night I had to strip and dry my clothes. The floor was literally covered with water, and this coupled with the dust and oil made the floor very slippery. I have fallen more than once, and all the manager did was smile when a complaint was made.

"There are many weaving sheds where the above conditions prevail at present. Fancy standing all day in an atmosphere of between 80 and 102 degrees, getting one's clothes wet, and then coming out on a cold winter's day! Is it any wonder that I and thousands of others suffer at an early age from anæmia, rheumatism and consumption? Is it any wonder that the infantile mortality is higher in the Lancashire cotton centres such as Oldham, where mothers are forced, through economic pressure, to work till practically the last minute before confinement?

"What becomes of the child, you ask? It is sent out to nurse—*i.e.*, the parent wraps it in a shawl or blanket and carries it to a neighbour in the same street, or perhaps to a woman a mile or two away, and this has been done, winter and summer, at any time between 5 and 6 a.m. I myself have seen a child carried in front of the father on a bicycle at 5.30 a.m., with the object of leaving it at some house on his way to work."

THE TEST OF OUR RELIGION.

But to return to my first correspondent:—

"It is no use giving lip service to the principles of Jesus, and then telling us they will not work in industry, or that we cannot build a social and industrial system upon the principles of the New Testament. Jesus either meant what he said, or he is the greatest deluder that ever deluded the human race. At least let us be honest with ourselves, with society, and with him. In an industrial system with co-operation as its method and service as its ideal, where every worker felt that he was co-operating with his fellows in the service of all and had a responsible share in regulating the life of the factory and in administering its discipline, I believe religion, especially the Christian religion, would have the greatest opportunity it has ever had for showing its power. No longer should we have a conflict between religion and life, but in seeking after success

in the one we should realise success in the other. In asking for these revolutionary changes in our social and industrial system, we are asking that Jesus may have his chance by the provision of a social and industrial body through which his spirit may be able to express itself in all the relationships of life.

"I have now finished, all too inadequately, what I promised to do. May I suggest a method to you which may better help you to understand our position? Try to visualise your own life, beginning with your ancestors and coming up to the present. Then with that picture vividly in your mind think of one who has lived the life I have tried to describe—think of him as getting to know rather intimately the life of some well-to-do people, so that he sees a glimpse of the picture you have called up, and as some of the glory, the beauty and the promise of it passes before his eyes, there comes to him the realisation of what he has missed. . . . .

"What we have missed—education, travel, house and garden, and most of the things that are regarded as essential to the life of these people! We are not bitter about it, but we do feel that they, the privileged classes, ought to join hands with us, not to rob us of any of these things, but to secure them for all."

A more recent letter says:—

"As you will have seen from the press, we in the cotton trade have been compelled to suffer a reduction of 60 per cent., with another 10 per cent. in six months. The employers have been utterly ruthless; nothing less than 70 per cent. would satisfy them, and they knew they had us in their grip. Talk about the Iron Heel; we have had some. One of the men who had been in close touch with the negotiations told me that there was no more sentiment of fairness in the negotiating room than there is when a butcher is bargaining for a sheep.

"The whole affair will leave behind it, as in the miners' strike, a legacy of bitterness which bodes ill for the future of the industry."

THE LOT OF THE LABOURER.

Let me now give you another view-point, that of a man brought up in a middle-class home, who, after holding a position of responsibility in a steel manufacturing firm, has sampled the lot of the labourer "to 'touch bottom' in a bread-winning sense, and also to come to closer grips with the religious question." He believes that "the spiritual effect of the wage system is innocuous in nine cases out of ten," though as he speaks of the King receiving wages, he does not, I think, quite grasp what many of us have in mind when we speak

of the wage system as essentially evil. He continues: "*It is the non-realisation of the spirit of the whole* that is at the root of our troubles," and points out that until we realise our essential unity no readjustment of burdens will make much difference. "One grain of communal . . . Christianity would transform the worst of wage systems into a brotherhood." He refers to "the systematic dropping of tools five or ten minutes before the buzzer went every night," bookmaking in the firm's time, and other forms of slacking, graft, bad language, etc., and adds:—

"Speaking as a labourer, there are two things that would help me in my daily work, and they are noticeable by reason of their extreme absence.

"(1) Some sort of personal relationship with the 'Boss.' However meritoriously a labourer labours, he is merely a unit in the eye of the employer, who lives and thinks in a world apart. There is here and there in a gang of labourers a man capable of higher service, but a labourer he will remain under our present system.

"(2) The possibility of getting some interest out of the work as such. I am many stages removed from having any proprietary sense in connection with these jobs that we are putting through. The labourer's part of the work is the donkey's part, and there is no *kudos* to be got out of it. Initiative he must suppress, or he will be at daggers drawn with his mates. This makes the labourer animal-like, slow-witted, sullen. Watch him when he leaves work—his shuffling gait, his insensibility to fine comforts, or cleanliness of living rooms and cooking utensils. . . . It should be the community's concern to cater handsomely for the out-of-work hours of these workers. But under the wage system they receive a mere existence wage. Consequently these men who do the most monotonous work spend the most monotonous evenings and week-ends. Visualise again this army of common labourers, not merely as of this or that neighbourhood, nor yet of England, but of the civilised countries of the world, and you will see a great company, passed by for the most part by religious denominations, enduring much weariness and hopelessness of spirit, a disinherited people capable of great good or of much evil."

All the above accounts, though differing in standpoint, show us in action a callous, impersonal industrial mechanism, directed to producing profits while it neglects human life, dragging down the well-meaning and the unselfish, and crushing and stultifying the higher instincts at a thousand points. Not very long ago "Economist" pointed out that "Central Europe is desperately short of raw cotton and raw wool, which it cannot afford to buy. Meanwhile the Port of London is full of

wool, and Rotterdam is blocked up with cotton for which the holders cannot find buyers." This shows how our modern industry fails to be even commercially efficient. And, after all. is it wonderful that if it neglects the higher things, it should also fail in the lower?

In brief, we suffer to-day from a monopoly of land and of wealth, which is the more objectionable because ownership has become largely passive and dissociated from social function. Consequently the mass of the people are cut off from the sources of wealth and from effective control of the means of production. Hence their life is dependent upon the will of the possessing classes, the result being seen in poverty, slums, unemployment, and the mental suffering described above. The moral effect of these physical inequalities is, on the one hand, a tendency to arrogance and patronage, and, on the other, to servility varied by fierce revolt. There is thus in the industrial and social order a fundamental warfare of interests, which, disguised as it often is by personal goodwill, is none the less a WAR—the class war. Industry as such lacks moral purpose and objective because its structure is based on the struggle of the individual for personal gain, instead of for the service of all. The result is that Society estimates people far too often according to the abundance of their possessions. A man is said to be "worth" a thousand a year, not as a human being, but as an economic monopolist. The propertyless are under excessive temptation to be enslaved by fear and envy, the propertied by greed, and by the fear of losing the comforts they have come to prize as essentials. Such a system the Christian, and in fact every decent man, once he realises it, must unhesitatingly condemn.[5] No change in the hearts of men will take adequate effect until it causes the removal of these inhuman relationships between man and man, and replaces them by those which encourage brotherhood and co-operation instead of strife.

Many good people have got thus far. They say, "Any fool can show us that the world is out of joint. Can you show us any way out?" The remainder of this book will attempt to do this.

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[5] The following newspaper extract furnishes a grim comment upon all this:—

"OUTED BY WASTERS."

UNEMPLOYED STONEMASON'S BITTER LETTER BEFORE SUICIDE.

Out of work for over nine months, Philip Blowes, 68, a stonemason, of Forest Gate, was found dead with his head in a gas-oven. Under his head was a letter, which ran:—

"Dear Old Mate,—I am writing this with a sorrowful heart, but I hope you will forgive me for the trouble I am causing you. The cost of living, the rates and rent are more than I can meet. I would be glad for a rest out of it all, for every shilling one can scrape together is demanded from you before you can get it. What for? Only to keep a lot of idle wasters living in their mansions and amassing thousands, yea, some millions, and the air they breathe and the ground they walk upon is not good enough for them, while the poor working classes, producers and makers of all, in many cases are compelled to live in hovels, scarcely fit for fowls or pigs, and are driven to starvation and death to uphold the big pots in their riches and waste. If there be any truth in Scripture, surely some of them will meet their reward. Good-bye.—P. Blowes.

"P.S.—Outed by the wasters after winning the war."

At the inquest a verdict of "Suicide while temporarily insane" was returned.

CHAPTER II.

Some Thoughts on Property, the Wage System and Unearned Money.

Francis of Assisi on Property—"Property for Use" and "Property for Power"—Dangers of the latter—Autocratic Control of Industry—Can publicly controlled industry avoid red tape?*—Educative value of "Property for Use"—What Jesus objected to was exclusiveness—Property holding must be subject to the common weal—The Wage System treats Labour as a commodity—No purely economic view of Labour can be adequate—The worker's right to control—The right to maintenance—Payment according to responsibility—Or disagreeableness of work—The worker's share in the proceeds of industry—Rent, interest and profits—The problem of risky lending—Should inheritance be abolished?*

THE Bishop of Assisi said to Francis one day: "Your way of living without owning anything seems to me very harsh and difficult." "My lord," replied he, "if we possessed property we should have need of arms for its defence, for it is the source of quarrels and lawsuits, and the love of God and of one's neighbour usually finds many obstacles therein; this is why we do not desire temporal goods."[1]

Was Francis right? Is the possession of property one of the main causes of strife, and in any case an encumbrance? Let us consider the nature of property.

Following Professor L. T. Hobhouse,[2] we may define it as a right which Society (or some part of it whose authority is accepted) recognises to a continuous and exclusive measure of *control* over material goods by some person or group of persons.

"PROPERTY FOR USE" AND "PROPERTY FOR POWER."

He distinguishes two aspects or varieties of property.

1. The control of things necessary for ordered life. This, he maintains, develops purpose, forethought and independence in the possessor, and confers freedom and security upon him.

2. The control of persons through things, which confers upon their owner power over the lives of others, and power to secure for himself part of the product of the labour of others.

Society has now reached a stage where the masses of the people are entirely dependent upon land, capital and credit

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[1] "Life of St. Francis of Assisi," Paul Sabatier (Hodder & Stoughton), pp. 80, 81.

[2] In "Property, its Duties and Rights—Essays by Various Writers" (Macmillan, 1913), ch. i.

which is dispensed by others—a large part of it in the hands of quite a few owners. This is "Property for Power," and power, as an American writer puts it, "is the most subtle intoxicant known." When thus held by an irresponsible few and not subjected to popular control, it is continually tending to work in opposition to the common good. For the snare of seeking private gain, and of treating the economically helpless as pawns to that end, is then too much for the weakness of ordinary human nature to withstand. The quest of private profit drove men to war with the Chinese in order to force the poison of opium upon them; it still causes the ruin of thousands of lives through alcohol [3]; it has stifled the life of the toilers by building slums; it kills off their babies with watered milk; it destroys their bodies and souls with commercialised vice; it arms the peoples against each other, and so works as to promote war scares. All this comes of neglecting the plain teaching of Jesus that life must always be valued above property.

"Property for Power," even in the hands of good and well-meaning people, who may build garden suburbs or give their surplus wealth to good causes, is far from the ideal and Christian arrangement. For let the conscientious employer do what he will, his wealth maintains and heightens class barriers, while the modern organisation of industry tends to make the workers into machines, devoid of initiative, enervated by monotony, compelled, under the present system, without any say in the matter, to surrender part of the just proceeds of their labour in the form of interest or dividends to those who may never have done one stroke of honest work for the business. The worker, on the other hand, may have toiled for a lifetime to build up that business without obtaining any share in its policy and control. If he is considered unfit for a voice in the management, how far is he, or even his children, being trained to become fit? And yet how is it that Government allows him a voice in the control of a much larger concern —the country? If "Property for Power" is justifiable for the rich, why is it denied to the poor?

AUTOCRACY IN INDUSTRY.

A modern business is a little monarchy. Its principle is contrary to that of a democratic age. It is not consonant with Christian brotherhood that an employer should have the power or the "right," for a mere whim, to deprive a man of his means of living, even if the man afterwards succeeds in petitioning another employer, of his clemency, to give him a job.[4]

[3] The power of "the Trade" is seen in the fact that the British Government in the midst of the greatest war in history was afraid to dethrone it.

[4] The fact that this autocratic power is limited by Trade Unionism does not affect the principle.

Nor is it right that a few men wielding vast financial power should hold the destinies of nations in their hands. Moreover, the best employer is compelled to compete with his rivals for a living, and in doing so the worst part of his nature is constantly assailed by the temptation to overreach or crush them. If his reserves are small and his position precarious, he may be almost driven to underpay his employees or resort to underhand methods to avoid ruin: he is faced with temptations almost too great for human nature: he cannot follow the honourable course he desires.

If, on the other hand, his means are ample, he can afford to be generous, but is too apt to "manage other people for their good," while the evils of competition still press upon him and often tend to increase. If to avoid these he combines with his rivals to create a monopoly, the situation is still more dangerous, for even if the conscientious employer does not wish to defraud the public by charging the full price that the market will bear, others in the combine may force him into it.

INITIATIVE AND PUBLIC CONTROL.

On the other hand, it is important that *access to property* should be easy for those who have the wit and initiative to make good use of it. It is vital for the social welfare that research, enterprise and organising genius should have the fullest scope. Will this be achieved under public ownership? Is there not great danger of tyranny and red tape? Very much here depends on the *kind* of public ownership adopted, a point which will be discussed more fully later on. If it puts the brake upon personal initiative it may be worse than useless. It should, however, be possible to discover a method of securing to the public the control of essential means of life at the same time as we secure to the individual the fullest opportunity for creative work. "Property for Power" in private hands does not do this. Being held by the few to the exclusion of the many, it thwarts the development of personality and initiative in the latter, and creates widespread social evil and discontent. Thus it sows the seeds of industrial revolution at home, and causes abroad the severest struggles against foreign competitors, each side seeking the aid of its Government, and thus exercising a pressure tending to provoke war between the nations.

Let us now consider "*Property for Use.*" Professor Hobhouse says :—

"The man who has a shilling in his pocket is free to eat or drink what he likes up to the limit of the shilling. He may not get so good or sustaining a meal (as if the food were doled out to him), but he gets his own choice. The man

who has a weekly wage is, other things being equal, more free than a man paid by truck, and a man who works on his own land with his own implements is more free, other things being equal, than the wage-earner.

"At each point the more a man can count on his own exertions applied to his own property, the more he can direct his own activity on the lines which appear to suit his taste.

"Some measure of property appears, in short, to be the essential basis of liberty; and conversely, the sense of freedom in enjoyment ranks along with the sense of security and permanence among the complex constituents of the pride and joy of ownership. Unfortunately, what is liberty for one man is often the negation of liberty for another."

The line between "Property for Use" and "Property for Power" is obviously very difficult to draw, but, without attempting more than the very rough definition given above, let us confine ourselves to a few points which emerge with some clearness.

Is "Property for Use" justified by its value as a means of education, or must it be condemned on balance as a provoker of strife? The essence of property is control. Some continuous power of control, whether joint or individual, over material goods should be secured to every human being, in order that he may gain a true grasp of life and plan it with such sense of purpose and freedom as will develop his personality.

In household affairs also, the needs of privacy and of freedom for the development of happy family life (too often crushed under our existing industrial conditions) furnish a weighty argument for a moderate amount of exclusive ownership by the family and by individuals.[5] On the other hand, strife, both industrial and military, is continually caused by the effort of human personality to assert itself, whenever it is crushed and deprived of control over its surroundings. To establish concord, therefore, the personality of oppressed individuals, provinces and nations must be given free scope, though they in turn must respect the freedom of all. Clearly this ideal is as yet far from realised. A few personalities and some nations find great scope, while others are crushed. No Christian can reasonably be satisfied with such a state of things, least of all a body such as the Society of Friends that claims to oppose all war.

But have we not strayed a long way from Francis of Assisi, even if we admit as lawful private "Property for Use" only? Monasticism, even in its purest form, by renouncing marriage

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[5] There are distinct disadvantages, for instance, in an entire communism in false teeth, boots, and fountain pens. Whatever goods are adapted to one individual only should plainly be at that individual's disposal.

and the responsibilities it entailed, ruled itself out as a way of life possible and right for all men. But we must be just to Francis. Sabatier tells us that he "no more condemned the family or property than Jesus did; he simply saw in them ties from which the *apostle*, and the apostle alone, needs to be free."[6] His "Third Order" was allowed to hold property, provided its members reduced their wants as far as possible, and distributed the rest to the poor.

THE PROPHETS AND JESUS ON PROPERTY.

The Hebrew prophets, realising (what is often forgotten) that the earth is the Lord's and not the landlord's, proclaimed that oppression of the poor was sacrilege against God. Jesus added that the least member of the human family was endlessly more valuable than goods, and that large private ownership was a dangerous corrosive. His disciples and the Early Church expressed their religion in a way of life according to which no man treated his possessions as his own. But Jesus always took thought for the bodily needs of men. The men "of little faith" were to trust God for food and clothing, and pray for daily bread. The fulness of the earth was God's gift for the service of mankind. What Jesus objected to was that a man should lay up treasures for *himself*, for his own exclusive use and not the general good. All doctrine of exclusive personal right to property which does not regard the general welfare is in flat violation of his teaching and is based upon delusion and error.

PROPERTY RIGHTS ALWAYS SOCIALLY CONDITIONED.

I discover a virgin forest, and with my own hands make a chair out of the wood I hew. Have I an exclusive right to that chair? A friend of mine in business once said to me, "Yes." But I asked him, "Whence came my skill to make that chair?" Leaving aside the question of tools, or the right of the community to the wood, do I not inherit the tradition of thousands of nameless men who have toiled at chair-making before me? Is not the very *idea* of a chair part of my social inheritance?

I have done a good day's work at chairmaking and am tired. But an old woman comes along the road who has done a good day's scrubbing to keep a house clean for me or my like. She is more tired than I, and there is only one chair. Have I the right to refuse her the use of it? Would any decent man feel happy to do so? Would he not be false to the fundamental law of his being?

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6 Sabatier, "Life of St. Francis," p. 266.

PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING PROPERTY.

Perhaps we may summarise thus :—

(1) That no exclusive personal property-right exists or can be tolerated. Property must always be held under conditions in harmony with the common good.

(2) That the possession of private property does tend to promote exclusiveness, selfishness, injustice, and consequently revolt and war, but that these dangers are by far the greatest in the case of "Property for Power," which constantly tends to thwart the common good.

(3) That a moderate amount of "Property for Use" has a very important educational effect in the development of personality.

(4) That the opportunity for and benefits of this ought to be shared by *all*, not by a favoured few.

(5) That human personality being so predominantly a product of the life of Society as a whole, the way of progress lies in increasingly developing the sense of *corporate* trusteeship, in which the individualism of the old idea of "stewardship of wealth" is superseded by the sense of corporate responsibility. This, as humanity progresses, will increasingly provide the required stimulus to forethought, and yet avoid the exclusiveness and selfishness of private ownership.

(6) The more mankind transforms competition into co-operation, the more every human soul is accorded the chance of that full and complete life that Jesus meant him to have, the more quickly will wars, both industrial and military, disappear.

THE WAGE SYSTEM, AND SOME POSSIBLE METHODS OF PAYMENT.[7]

The lowest grade of labour to-day is little better off than that of previous centuries. We have not in the past sufficiently realised that political freedom is largely rendered ineffective by lack of economic freedom, a lack which hinders progress at almost every point.

In order that a man may develop *to the full* his higher and more spiritual faculties, his economic position must be made secure. Half a generation of "social reform" has been accompanied by an actual decline in real wages, and little amelioration, still less abolition, of the uncertainty of the wage-earner's life.

There will always be unrest so long as we have a wage

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7 The paragraphs which immediately follow owe much to the suggestive work entitled "National Guilds," by S. G Hobson.

system which *treats labour as a commodity*. Like other commodities, labour tends to be valued merely as an item in the necessary cost of production, an item to be bought as cheaply as possible, in order to leave ample surplus for profit, rent and dividends.

But labour is *not* a commodity, for labour is a human thing; the strength and energy of men and women are invariably used up by it. Labour is *life*, and life, as the prophets and as Jesus taught, must take precedence of all propertied interests. "To reduce the untiring efforts of mankind to the level of cotton and coal is a sin against the Holy Ghost."

Labour is really priceless, and cannot be compared in value with commodities, even though these be the products of labour. Of course, it will be urged—granted that labour, ethically speaking, is priceless—must not every product of labour be also priceless? But for convenience of exchange we are bound to fix prices. Price, then, is simply a measure of the amount purchasers agree to pay for one product of labour as compared with or in exchange for another product of labour. But the real point is, firstly, that whereas the *product* of labour can be separated from the labourer, *labour itself cannot be so separated*. In some sense the labourer *is labour*. Therefore, *no purely economic view of labour* can ever be adequate. The claim of the effect of labour on health and character is vital. No man has a right arbitrarily to dictate conditions of work to another man, or to turn him for a large part of his time into a machine for gain. Everyone has the right to such conditions as (provided that these allow a similar liberty to others, and that the community is adequately supported) will facilitate his own training and growth to the greatest possible extent. If the workman is capable, or can be helped to become capable, of controlling industry, his claim to have his full share of its control is unanswerable.

The wage system does not give him his share of control, nor does it give him security, nor, as a rule, a fair return for his labour. We must, therefore, seek a better system.[8]

WHAT, THEN, IS THE IDEAL BASIS OF PAYMENT?

If some all-knowing genius could fix the payment of everybody according to his or her readiness to spend wisely for the

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[8] Payment by piece is especially unsatisfactory:—
(1) Because it assumes that no one will do his best work on a time basis.
(2) Because of the self-seeking spirit it fosters.
(3) Because of the undue physical strain it often causes.
(4) Because of the temptation to employers to cut rates or else maintain a standard unfair to time-workers.
(5) Because the aim is quantity, not quality, and therefore there is strong temptation to deception and scamping of work.
(6) Because when quantity becomes an end in itself there is a continual tendency to glut the market with "unwanted" goods.

common good, it might be thought that the result would be highly efficient. But, short of second sight, such an apportionment would be quite unattainable. How do we ordinary people discover what is for the common good? Not by spying into each other's private affairs, but by co-operating in groups which pool the experience of their individual members. What is expenditure for the common good? That which develops most the faculties of all the people and their powers of social co-operation. The ideal system of payment is that which will contribute most effectively to this end. And in order to give the maximum chance of self-development to the greatest number, I would suggest in broad outline that everyone should have an adequate share of "Property for Use," while "Property for Power" should be communally held so as to develop the maximum amount of group co-operation in its administration.

THE RIGHT TO MAINTENANCE.

If access to "Property for Use" is to be secured for all, this in practice would seem to involve payment of a subsistence allowance to every man, woman and child, simply because they are human beings recognised as having a right to life and liberty. The principle is acted upon within millions of human families. The objection naturally urged against its general adoption is that it would lead to "malingering." What it certainly would do would be to remove the fear of the abyss that haunts the lives of thousands, and the crippling of personality that this involves. It is notorious that insecurity of life is one of the greatest causes of thriftlessness and of hand-to-mouth living. Further, as we have seen, those who are most insecure often have the largest families. If every man's bread were secure he would be more likely to develop spiritual qualities than if harried by uncertainty of obtaining bare necessities. Other factors being equal, a man has the best chance of all-round growth where he is neither rich nor in want. At the root of the whole question lies the socialisation of motive. A religious awaking of the right kind would have a far greater chance of success were professing Christians to find themselves no longer under great pressure to support and acquiesce in social injustice.

THE BIRTH-RATE AND THE MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE.

But here arises an important question. We are faced at present with the fact that the birth-rate in the middle class and the skilled artisan class is restricted, and this *very largely in proportion to the forethought and carefulness of parents,* whereas among "the very poor," and also "the feeble-

minded," the "shiftless and the drunken" there is no such *restriction.*[8]

The movement for woman's emancipation, as Bertrand Russell points out, by assisting the tendency to limit offspring, may perpetuate the unambitious woman and the poorer stock generally, and eradicate energy and high talent—a very different result from what the advocates of the movement desire!

This tendency might be considerably checked if the economic motive for limiting families were removed by providing food, clothing and education at the expense of the community for *all classes of children,* and maintenance for wives.

A higher level of general well-being would at the same time tend to reduce the birth-rate rather than increase it, but readers of Kropotkin and Douglas will realise that our possible agricultural and industrial productivity is so enormous that no Malthusian fears of population beyond the means of subsistence need be entertained.

Now why should not a woman who leaves industry to become a wife be paid by the community, as a valuable member of Society, approximately what she was earning before marriage, or at least a maintenance allowance? This would be far more in accordance with ideal justice than the retention of a system under which the wife is dependent for her maintenance upon her husband's earnings—or lack of them!

Are these suggestions too revolutionary? Have not many wives what are (wrongly) called "independent means" as it is, and does this lead to marital unhappiness? And surely, if it were made easy for careful and provident parents to avoid whatever limitation of family is now caused by economic considerations, this would tend *toward* marital happiness and the sanctity of family life rather than against it.

PAYMENT ACCORDING TO RESPONSIBILITY.

Is payment also to be made according to *degree of responsibility?* Should managers, foremen, and labourers all be paid alike? Let us not answer this too hurriedly. The labourer often does the hardest, dirtiest and most unpleasant work. Why does he get so low a wage to-day? Mainly because he is plentiful, and men with managing ability are scarce. *Why* are they scarce? Usually because they have had educational privileges and opportunities denied to the labourer.

We must remedy this inequality of opportunity. When it is remedied, we shall develop a type of manager who has risen to his position, not because of superior advantages, but because of superior ability and application. In that case, payment by

8 Bertrand Russell, "Principles of Social Reconstruction," p. 175 and ff.; see also recent articles in the *New Age*, and on the other side, "Fecundity *versus* Civilization," Adelyne More (Allen & Unwin).

responsibility would more nearly correspond to efficiency. The further question is whether efficiency will not be greatest when the question of material reward is entirely removed. To this question we shall return.

PAYMENT ACCORDING TO HARDNESS OR DISAGREEABLENESS OF WORK.

The factor of *hardness, danger, or disagreeableness of work* has a strong claim to be taken into account in apportioning wages or salaries. Ultimately, it ought to be possible to enthuse all grades with a civic spirit strong enough to make them cease to serve for monetary rewards, once a reasonable maintenance is assured them.

Let the managers be paid whatever they need to enable them to live efficiently. They will probably need to incur special running expenses in books or other facilities for study, travel, or experiment. But if they are in earnest in desiring the fullest life for all, they will be satisfied with a humble style of living for themselves until increased prosperity is universally shared.

But the labourer on his side needs more than he now gets. His wife needs *much* more help than is at present possible. We may hope that increasing improvement of his condition and opportunities will also enable him to get, and spend wisely, a far larger salary than in many cases he has had the opportunity to spend at present.[10]

It might indeed with advantage be arranged that workers doing especially hard, dangerous or dirty jobs should work shorter hours than others. Another suggestion worth considering is that the dirty or dangerous work of the world should be volunteered for by rich and poor—so long as we have rich and poor—between the ages, say of twenty and twenty-two. If, without compulsion, we could bring it about that it should be considered an honour to do this, would it not be a most valuable training? On the other hand, if discovery and invention were turned, in a way that under capitalism they have never yet been turned, to the superseding of dirty, dangerous and unhealthy work, the need for this could be very greatly diminished.

THE WORKERS' SHARE IN THE PROCEEDS OF INDUSTRY.

This will largely settle itself when the problem of control is settled. But the question of the ethical sanction of interest, rent, and unearned increments and their connection with the

10 Let us not forget that most wealthier families would find it exceedingly difficult to make ends meet as the better sort of labourer's wife does

holding of private property, especially " Property for Power," deserves to be thoroughly examined.

The question of private property has already been discussed. Our general conclusion was, that whereas a moderate amount of property (" Property for Use "), chiefly of personal and sentimental value, is educative and promotes freedom and personal responsibility, private ownership of property which confers irresponsible power over the lives of others is anti-social. The way of progress lies, we said, in increasingly developing the sense of corporate rather than individual trusteeship.

RENT, INTEREST AND PROFITS.

If this be accepted as the ideal toward which progress may be expected increasingly to tend, what then will be the place of rent, interest and profits?

A pioneer in a new country, where land is for the time being unlimited in quantity, clears a tract of land and builds a farmhouse. After a time he finds it more profitable to trek further afield, so he leaves his first farm and works another district. A second man comes along, and, having no home, applies to live in the first man's farmhouse. Is it not right that the second man should pay for this advantage? He is saved all the trouble of clearing the land and building a farm for himself. And yet he may be more needy, and less strong and gifted than the first man, or he may not have had equally good opportunities. On the other hand, the reverse may be true. In any case, he ought to pay for the time and expense incurred by his landlord under the heading of depreciation, repairs and improvements, in so far as he as tenant reaps the benefit of these. But all this does not correspond to rent in the strictly economic sense. For the landlord gets his house back at any time he wants it, worth as much as he originally spent in building it. Why should he feel aggrieved if he gets no more?

So far something might be said in particular cases both for and against certain payments classed to-day as rent. A great deal depends, from an ethical standpoint, upon whether the landlord suffers any deprivation by lending his farm. Obviously, where regulation of these matters is according to laws, it is difficult in framing legislation to take account of such individual considerations.

But when through pressure of population the available land becomes limited in quantity, the question of land-ownership then assumes a very different aspect. It is now impossible for the mass of men to own more than a very limited amount of land. Anyone therefore who through inheritance or other monopoly advantage secures more than his share, thus pre-

venting others equally capable from using the land, is, however innocent his intention, acting anti-socially. If, in addition to doing this, he charges for allowing others to live on his land more than a reasonable amount for his personal labour and supervision, he is again acting anti-socially. For to extract from Society for one's personal use an increment which is socially produced is anti-social. Only invalids, children, and the aged ought to take more from Society than a fair compensation for services which they either render or are prepared to render. The rest belongs in equity to the social group, whose joint activities make the increment value.

The same principle applies to interest and profits. Of course, again, we must distinguish carefully between unearned interest and that part of interest, so-called, which really represents some form of service. Profits in like manner need to be distinguished from wages of management, depreciation, and bona-fide reserve funds.[11]

It may be thought likely that so long as there is private property, so long there will be interest. If one person possesses something which he is not using, and another person who does not possess it wants the use of it, the "owner" is in a position to say: "Either I don't lend it to you, or you pay me so much for the loan of it." But here again the only ethically sound basis is payment for actual labour service rendered. Men who have been educated in the idea of the solidarity of society ought not to take up such an attitude. If they are prepared to "do as they would be done by," they will forego their monopoly advantage.[12] Of course, in the event of most or all "Property for Power" becoming owned by the State or by Communes or Guilds, interest obtainable by private persons would become comparatively negligible.

One other factor of the problem, partly occasioned by present evil conditions, must not be omitted. Should people lending their property charge only for trouble of upkeep or depreciation: have they a right to charge for risk of loss where the lending is very risky (as in the case of a pawnbroker)? The lender from his point of view expects to cover his risk of bad debts, as well as recoup himself for expenditure of time and trouble.

In the same way, a landlord whose tenants often flit in the night without paying, will charge a rent to cover his risk of losses. Yet why should the honest tenants rather than the landlord pay for the misdeeds of dishonest ones? But as house property beyond what a man needs for his own family is "Property for Power," the solution here is to communalise both the ownership and the risk.

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11 See Clay, "Economics for the General Reader," pp. 89 and ff.

12 Has anyone a moral *right* to allow his possessions to lie idle if others can be making good use of them?

Inheritance, however, and other forms of monopoly enable dividends, rents, and often profits to reach a value out of all proportion to the service rendered by those who receive them. Where these are really unearned, they belong in equity either to those who earned them by their personal toil and thought, or to the community. It is quite clear that so long as there is so much distress in the world no one has a right to spend more on his house, dress, food, pleasure, etc., than is necessary to make him an efficient servant of his fellows. Otherwise, he is wasting someone's labour, and, in consequence, degrading it. As Woolman said: "Superfluities cause oppression." If an employer is in such a position as to be able to control the amount of dividend declared by his firm, should he not see to it that he and his family at least take no more than the above standard requires, and that, subject to reserve and insurances necessary to secure the stability of the business, the workers get what will enable them and theirs in like manner to live full and complete lives, with adequate leisure and scope? Where he is *not* in a position to regulate the dividends from the business in which he has a share, the question then arises: Should he sell out, and transfer his investment to some social welfare or propaganda scheme that declares practically no dividend?

These, however, are only interim propositions: it is clear that as progress is made in the direction of communal control of property, interest, rent and profits will more and more be absorbed by the community, to which they properly belong.

INHERITANCE.

The rich and the poor child start life with unequal chances. One may inherit half a county, the other almost nothing but his pair of hands. This fact will affect the whole of their after careers. The injustice is patent. Should the right of inheritance and bequest be abolished, the State, as above suggested, guaranteeing the means of life and education to each child born? Such a course would tend, not only to far greater social equality than at present obtains, but also, through the provision of greater opportunity for the rising generation, to the development of a great amount of potential ability that is at present allowed to run to waste.

The danger that parental responsibility and foresight would be discouraged certainly requires very careful thought, but is, I believe, apt to be a good deal over-rated. We need to remember how many sordid family squabbles are caused by inheritance, and how much family affection often exists where there is practically nothing to leave. True, in the poorest family the children's dependence upon the parents has helped

throughout history to cement the bond of union, but the affection between parents and children after they become financially independent of each other shows that this material bond is not essential. Mankind has reached a stage when social instinct has developed, and will further develop, beyond the limits of the family. This should not bring about a weakening, but rather a strengthening of the family bond. If we secure to every mother and child an assured place in Society, instead of abandoning them to the demoralising uncertainty of our modern industrial life, surely this should build up, not undermine, the sanctity of family life. For although the purely economic bond of the family might be weakened, this should tend to a more equal fellowship and a fuller leisure in which family life could grow.[13]

Under anything like existing conditions, however, it would probably do more harm than good to abolish right of inheritance with regard to articles whose sentimental value as adjuncts of the home life is high in comparison with their value for the community. Let us, therefore, exclude from any such scheme "household gods" and family heirlooms of personal rather than general value. Abolition of inheritance might, indeed, be approached largely through a progressive extension of death duties, and of restrictions upon gifts to children or heirs during life.[14] Its adoption should be sufficiently gradual to avoid hardship, e.g., to elderly single women who know no skilled trade. Probably in any case existing life interests would not be interfered with, and invalids would be specially provided for.

13 Study groups may usefully discuss how far any financial dependence is really needed to keep the family together; whether, after all, the common life and natural affection where conditions allow it free-play (as to-day they often do not) does not count for much more. Cf. "Social Degradation," Malcolm Spenser (Student Christian Movement), ch. iii. and passim; and Paterson, "Across the Bridges," pp. 15, 16, 19, 26, 84 (Arnold).

14 Restrictions upon gifts would be rather difficult to enforce, and "enforcement" is not what we want. In Belgium it is thought a shame not to divide property equally among all the children of a family. For effective enforcement in all cases we must look increasingly to public opinion and the stimulation of the sense of communal service.

CHAPTER III.

"Outward Bound."

Individual faithfulness and social reorganisation complementary—Impossibility of living to oneself alone—Freedom can only be achieved in a Social Group—Group self-government and the development of a group-mind—"The Sense of the Meeting," a Quaker contribution to the theory of democracy—Representation according to Function—The failure of an "Omnicompetent" Parliament—Miss Follett criticises Vocationalism—Mr. Cole's reply—Mr. Penty advocates Mediævalism—World peace demands World organisation—What is "Sovereignty"?—The State is not the community—No State until we make it—The rule of the Superman—The world as it can be made—Neighbourhood groups—Not "influence politics but be *politics"—Class-consciousness—The only way out—"The Threefold State"—Origin of class-consciousness—The economic, equity and spiritual States—Forced political unity a cause of the Great War—The Guilds and Dr. Steiner.*

SOCIAL PERSONALITY.

THERE are two main ways in which we can set to work to remedy our social ills:—

(1) We can live, to the utmost of our power, individual lives devoted to the common weal.

(2) We can promote schemes of industrial and social reorganisation which will give every individual the chance to live a complete life.

These two are not alternatives; they must go hand in hand. The problems of individual conduct are almost, if not quite, entirely those of social relationship. Am I right in smoking, or in eating cake while Russian peasants starve and British workmen are unemployed? Am I right in taking interest, am I right in spending £500 a year, am I right in asking a fellow-being to wash my front steps for an average wage? Such questions as these involve effects upon so many others beside myself that we can only answer them satisfactorily by taking a survey of the structure of Society as a whole.

The "Pilgrim's Progress" view of religion laid the stress almost entirely upon the saving of the individual soul. Jesus takes endless pains with the individual. He stresses his infinite worth. But he regards the new social order as the very centre of his message. Unlike Christian he did not flee from the City of Destruction; on the contrary he deliberately went to his death there in order to save it. We cannot keep our religion and our politics in water-tight compartments. As Bishop Wescott finely put it, "Religion is life, or neither is anything."

The "salvaging of civilisation" and the realisation of the

individual are not two problems, but one. The individual attains to "selfhood" in achieving co-operative relationships with others, and his salvation—the realisation of healthy life in body, mind, and spirit—must therefore at the same time be both individual and social.

Modern psychology is showing us with increasing clearness that "no man liveth" or can live "unto himself."

Prof. Royce says, "Could a child grow up with lifeless natures, there is nothing to indicate that he would become as self-conscious as is now a fairly educated cat."[1] For, what chance would he have? He would learn no language, and therefore would not learn how to think coherently. Having no one with whom to compare himself he would have no notion of his own value, nor could he have the faintest conception that there even exists such a thing as social behaviour or unselfishness. The charms of solitude, when they last a week, may indeed enable us to see life in truer proportions, but Robinson Crusoe and every prisoner who has done a long-term sentence cries out against the crippling of his being.[2]

The thought-life of all of us is interwoven at myriad points. If I drop through the floor in your presence, *you* will be different both now and for ever afterwards. My life is built up of impressions derived from all the other human beings I have ever seen, and indirectly from all or almost all others. As Carlyle says, "Nay, what a shallow delusion is this we have all got into, that any man should or can keep himself apart from men, have 'no business' with them, except a cash-account 'business'! . . . Men cannot live isolated: we *are* all bound together, for mutual good or else for mutual misery, as living nerves in the same body. No highest man can disunite himself from any lowest."

He describes a poor Irish widow, refused at one charitable institution of Edinburgh after another, "referred from one to the other, helped by none, . . . she sank down in typhus-fever; died, and infected her lane with fever, so that 'seventeen other persons' died of fever there in consequence. . . . The forlorn Irish widow applies to her fellow-creatures, as if saying, 'Behold, I am sinking, bare of help: ye must help me! I am your sister, bone of your bone: one God made us: ye must help me!' They answer, 'No, impossible; thou art no sister of ours.' But she proves her sisterhood; her typhus-fever kills *them*: they actually were her brothers, though denying it!"[3]

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1 "Studies of God and Evil," p. 208, quoted by Dr. Rufus M. Jones, "Social Law in the Spiritual World," p. 53.

2 See also "The Monk of Marsabba," by Joseph Hocking, which gives a vivid picture of the paralyzing mental effect of long residence in a monastery.

3 "Past and Present," Book iv., ch. vi., and Book ii., ch. ii.

No! there is no such being as "I"—a self-sufficing person. "I" am "I" only in relation to others. There is no "self-made man."

WHAT IS FREEDOM?

People have talked of freedom as "absence of harmful restraint." But as at every moment we are dependent upon one another, we can only find freedom together. The nomad savage is a slave to a thousand fears and superstitions. The serf escapes from his feudal landlord to the town, and at once finds that he can only realise and maintain his freedom by joining a guild and by acquiring and exercising the power both of individual and of group *self-government.*

The social nature of freedom is so important that an illustration may be forgiven. A boy is given a violin. He says, "Hulloa, what a ripping shillelagh," and proceeds to illustrate his "freedom" by banging his sister over the head with it. But the consequences to himself are not such good fun as he thought. His sister has somehow become a good deal less amusing. But hark! he hears a musician playing a melody. He now wants to get this pleasure out of the fiddle for himself, so, with the musician's help, he sets to work to master it. In doing so his own self gains a new power. He finds himself now no longer free to bang his sister over the head, because he has learnt better than to destroy his new and greater freedom to delight both himself and her with the music. Freedom then is won by self-mastery achieved in social co-operation.[4] In this case the co-operation of the musician, the boy and his sister, achieve a result which the boy would not have achieved by himself. In the process the musician has become freer because he has practised and increased his gift of teaching, and the musician and the sister are also freer because they have formed a bond of fellowship with the boy. The life of each member of the group is heightened and enlarged, and so is the life of the group itself.

GROUP SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Now suppose this group organises itself into a violin class. The members sacrifice their freedom to go to the "Movies" by agreeing to meet every Wednesday at six. Provided the organisation is sufficient for the purpose and in no way unnecessarily burdensome, the organisation promotes the greater

[4] I am not overlooking the fact that the boy must largely practise alone. But the social factors—the appreciation he hopes to win from others—the teaching he receives—the labour which has produced the violin and the music—are really at work all the time. A musical friend of mine tells me that he always prefers a string quartette to an organ for this reason, that in an organ recital there is simply the expression of one personality, whereas in a string quartette the harmony of four co-operating players enhances the effect. He himself after gaining mastery on the pianoforte strongly felt the need of wider co-operation in order to achieve satisfaction in his work.

freedom of the group. If it is entered into voluntarily, because each member of the group joins for the love of the thing, the organisation is probably as perfect as it can be. If, however, the boy were forced by his parents to join against his will, he would probably play half-heartedly and therefore badly, and the co-operation of the group would be greatly impaired. Suppose another group learns other instruments, and then they arrange to combine to form an orchestra. This may entail sacrificing the "Movies" two more nights a week, but the total efficiency and pleasure gained by the co-operation of this wider group, despite some increase in the strictness of rules, increases more than it diminishes the true liberty of its members.

Now in an orchestra the discipline required for success must be far stricter than in many other forms of social organisation, for instance a discussion society or a rambling club. Yet it is clear that though the conductor must have apparently autocratic powers during rehearsals and performances, yet the orchestra will only function effectively if all the members have great confidence in him. If he loses their confidence, and they have not the power to remove him and choose another conductor, the orchestra will go to pieces, or fail to do its best. Each individual performer develops his own powers to the full, only if he works with a will. He will only do that if he feels himself to be a vital part of the concern, having his share of self-government as a member of the group.

We have so far seen that a corporate body of this kind is most effective and its members most free when the latter develop their powers in co-operation with their fellow workers, when they do this voluntarily, possessing full powers of self-government, and when they have a strong common purpose, to carry out which they discipline themselves.

Now supposing there is an honest difference of opinion as to what pieces should be performed at the next concert. Should the conductor decide? Should the matter be settled by majority vote? If so, would the disappointed minority play with a will? I know little about music and musicians, but am convinced that (1) autocratic decision by the conductor would not produce the fullest co-operation (2) nor would a mere counting of heads. But let a general meeting be called, let the conductor put forth his view, the majority theirs and all the minorities theirs. Each party will get the benefit of the others' opinions, and a common understanding will be reached, not by a suppressing of differences, but by the arrival, through fair consideration of all points of view, at a *group mind.* Such a group mind is much more than the sum of the minds of the individual members. On the other hand it is nothing magical or mysterious. It is produced by the inter-

play and interpenetration of the minds of the members of the group. It is a new creation, an advance upon all individual thinking, and as such will command a loyalty that no majority decision would draw forth. Democracy is not achieved by a counting of heads. That is one reason why our so-called democratic governments of to-day are so ineffective. Democracy is the creation of a communal will through the active co-operation of all the members of a group.

"THE SENSE OF THE MEETING."

I happen, as a member of the Society of Friends, to have been brought up to a remarkable method of conducting business meetings. The Quakers never vote, but instead the clerk records what is called "the sense of the meeting." Even in district and national meetings to which representatives are appointed, the unofficial member has the same right to attend and to take part as the representative: no distinction whatever is made.[5] Every member has, so far as time allows, the opportunity of speaking and of raising any matter he feels urgent, and when each topic has been discussed the clerk sums up this "general sense" in a minute, which is read to the meeting, and objected to if members present feel it does not represent the view of the meeting.

After two hundred and fifty years of the use of this method Friends believe in it strongly. It accords interestingly with the latest findings of Social Psychology. The group, as a group, reaches a common mind, and an appeal with real force and sincerity from even a small minority, or from a single individual, may have great weight in the shaping of the common decision. This decision represents the real and considered conclusion of the meeting as a whole in a way a majority motion could never do.

Dangers of course exist, the clerk *may* be partial, though it is quite remarkable how seldom this happens, and how, if it does, the meeting puts him straight. A greater weakness is that ready speakers often have proportionately too much say, although the "sense of the meeting" is at its best something far deeper than a mechanical summary of the discussion.

Where the group is large, and opinions sharply divided, there is often a tendency to end in vague generalities, or to shelve the matter till the next meeting. Undoubtedly stronger and more definite resolutions could often be passed by majority vote, but the gain would, as a rule, be more than counter-

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[5] The only exception to this known to me is the "World Conference of All Friends (1920)," at which limitation of seating-room made it essential to restrict the attendance to representatives.

balanced by the loss to corporate feeling and unity.[5*] One factor Friends believe to be vital—the belief that the real presiding officer in the meeting is not the clerk, but God himself, and that the deliberations of the meeting should be guided by him.

A very important result of this is that, when a meeting is much divided and there seems no way out that meets the wishes of all parties, the clerk, very often at the suggestion of individual members, calls for a time of silent worship. This enables any heat that has been engendered to be transferred from partisan purpose to group purpose—the meeting seeks in communion with God to view the matter in the light of the good of all. I have known this holding of a devotional pause to result again and again in raising the whole tone of the discussion, with the further result that a generally acceptable solution has been found. Psychologically regarded, the group which had been breaking up into sectionalism has by this process rediscovered its group unity, or rather (which is something far greater) achieved a new unity on a higher plane.

The above description of Friends' business meetings refers to assemblies which are in the main deliberative rather than executive, though to some extent they are both. For detailed administrative work efficient secretaries are generally appointed who are given a good deal of scope and report periodically to consultative committees. The group controls policy, the detailed administration is entrusted almost unreservedly to the person responsible.

Appointment of representatives to attend general meetings is made in the smaller groups as a rule by direct nomination: committees and officials, the choice of whom is felt to require fuller consideration, are nominated by nominating committees (themselves directly appointed) and appointed if approved by the general meeting.

The above method of "gathering the sense of a meeting" does, of course, require that the clerk shall be in close sympathy with that meeting, able intuitively to "sense" the real mind of the meeting. It requires also that the meeting itself shall be inspired by a feeling of mutual confidence and by an earnest desire to find the right course—that it shall be inspired, as Friends believe, by the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

But although this method can be used to greatest advantage by a body motived unitedly by this spiritual ideal, there is no reason why others should not use it. I do not believe for a

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5* As A. Neave Brayshaw says ("The Quakers, their Story and Message" p. 64): "This willingness to *wait* until a large measure of spiritual unity is reached is one of the most cherished possessions of Friends, saving them as it does from smart scoring of debating points or impatience in pressing for a decision." Though a desirable forward step is indeed often over-long delayed, "once taken, it meets with general acquiescence free from bitterness which might at an earlier stage have arisen had one side carried its point by force of majority. Not infrequently it happens that those who have been against the proposed step will, when once it has been decided on, help to carry it out."

moment that the spiritual urge is restricted to professedly religious bodies.

I am told that one of our most important railways used always to employ substantially this method at its directors' board meetings. The group who used it may not have been democratic in their relationship to others outside, but they used a truly democratic method *in so far as they sought to find their own real will as a group*.

Where, however, there is no strong common purpose within the group, or where this is normally frustrated by party rivalry, such a method of arriving at group decisions is likely to break down, and give way to a counting of heads. The co-operation of the group is then far short of what it ought to be and might be.

But another difficulty arises from the mere problem of size. A constituency of any considerable extent has to entrust its business to delegates or representatives.

REPRESENTATION ACCORDING TO FUNCTION.

But can representatives represent? Mr. G. D. H. Cole, in his "Social Theory," rightly points out that, since every human personality is unique, no man can represent another man *as a man*. On the other hand, a delegate, who is given exact instructions what to do or how to vote, is at a loss when some situation suddenly arises which his instructions do not contemplate. Cole argues that if, instead of electing omnibus bodies like Parliament to deal with almost every question in creation, we relied more upon bodies chosen to carry out specific purposes, educational, industrial, etc., it would be possible for representatives to represent the views of their constituents with fair accuracy. I can elect a man to an Education Committee, knowing that he holds substantially my views on education and will do his best to carry them out, whatever new factors arise. I have hardly the faintest prospect of choosing a representative who will represent my views on Education, Ireland, Militarism, Nationalisation of Mines, the prosecution of the Communists, the Divorce Laws, Disestablishment, Taxation, Temperance and Foreign Affairs. Representation, therefore, should be as far as possible according to function, and this ensures also that the representative will be "chosen to do a job about which he knows something . . . by persons who know something of it too." [6]

Miss Follett, on the other hand, points out that human nature cannot be divided into parts, and maintains that voca-

6 "Social Theory," p. 113. Those who wish to follow the working out of "Functional Democracy" in detail should read this book, also the same author's "Guild Socialism Restated" and "Self-Government in Industry," and Mr. S. G. Hobson's "National Guilds and the State."

tional representation deals not with men, but "with masons and doctors." But the whole of every man must go into his citizenship. We want a plastic social organisation, giving the maximum of freedom for individuals to change their relations and their groups. "Vocational representation would tend to crystallize us into definite permanent groups." [7] This danger must be faced, and will probably best be avoided by encouraging a rich variety of non-vocational groupings as well. People who have common interest in a trade do right to organise on the basis of that interest, if, like the promoters of the Builders' Guild, they regard their trade as a "self-governing public service" to be carried on for the welfare of all, and their "interest" as an interest in doing good work.

Cole maintains that, whereas the individual *qua* human being is universal, and cannot be expressed in terms of function, an association of individuals does exist primarily to fulfil the definite function for which it is created.[8] Incidentally the association has many reactions beside the carrying out of its "function." There is no reason why its members should not put an unlimited amount of their personality into it and at the same time into other associations as well. But those who serve as representatives must represent. To do this in the way of group unity, and not formally and mechanically, they must keep in constant personal touch with their constituents. They will then represent them not merely as masons or doctors, but as *men* expressing themselves and their constituents in the capacity of masons or doctors, fulfilling a function essential to Society as a whole.

But how far can even functional representation represent? Is the State too big to be made democratic? And if so, is not all international organisation all the more beyond control?

SHOULD WE RETURN TO MEDIÆVALISM?

Mr. Arthur J. Penty [9] holds (with the Syndicalist) that the State as an organiser does not justify its existence, further that "it appears to exercise a baneful influence on whatever spiritual activities it has taken under its protection. . . . The State is of the earth earthy." Its one justification is "to guard Society against the depredations of the man of prey." The State, he says, is "very much at the mercy of the man of prey, . . . [for] law is no longer enacted to enable *good men to live among bad,* but to enable *rich men to live among poor.*"

Penty believes that we must return to a simpler state of Society, because Society is becoming unmanageably complex. "When any Society develops beyond a certain point the human

7 "The New State," pp. 291 and 290. 8 "Social Theory," pp. 48, 49, 50.

9 In his thought-provoking little book, "Guilds and the Social Crisis," pp. 70 ff. (Allen & Unwin).

mind is unable to get a grip of all the details necessary to its proper ordering."[10] "Democratic control is incompatible with highly centralised organisation."[11] But organisation on a world-scale there must be. It is impossible to call a halt when Society has been organised in groups of a certain size. Every group reacts outwards upon the world beyond it as well as inwards upon its own members. World peace will never be secured until we have world-organisation, whatever its ultimate form may be.[12]

WHAT IS "SOVEREIGNTY"?

The "Pluralist" School has done a great service in demolishing the fetish of a sovereign State from which all other groups derive their authority. Sovereignty (if we are to retain the term at all) is, as Miss Follett puts it, "a psychological process, . . . it is produced by actual living with others."[13] Five people or fifty produce a collective will. That will binds those who have thus formed a group, but it binds no one else. Moreover, it binds them so far only as they agree to be bound by it. The group may be a Church, a debating society, a cricket club, a Trade Union, it may be even a nation or an empire. In each case the members combine for a more or less definite purpose. The group has no right to demand their allegiance for purposes to which they have not given their consent. "No one," says Miss Follett, "can really give orders to anyone but himself."[14] The fact that in a State individuals grow up who may without their consent have received benefit (or oppression) from its existence does indeed add to their responsibility. But to whom, in the first place, are they responsible? Surely to world-society, to the whole family of man. If at any time, after full and careful thought, they believe that the action of the State of which they are citizens is in the widest sense anti-social, their highest duty, both to humanity and to their own nation, is to oppose the action of their own State by such methods as will best serve the good of all men.[15] That there should ever be need for this is regrettable, but if we seek the Kingdom of God the interests of the fullest life of all mankind must come first.

The State was, or should have been, made for man, and not man for the State. Cole defines a State as "the political

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10 Op. cit., pp. 46, 47.

11 On the industrial side of the question he argues that large machinery has been developed to such a pitch as to have acquired a will of its own, and "the men who direct it soon find out that they can only remain solvent on the assumption that they are willing to sacrifice everything to the all-absorbing interest of keeping the vast machinery in commission" (p. 65).

12 "The New State," pp. 285, 344 and ff.

13 Ibid., pp. 272, 271, 275.

14 p. 281.

15 Others, of course, have an equal right to oppose their policy, if they sincerely believe it to be deluded or subversive, and themselves with equal sincerity seek the general good.

machinery of government in a community."[16] The State is *not* the community, because the part of our lives that can be organised politically is but a small part of the whole.

"Political philosophers," says Miss Follett, "talk of the state," but there is no state until we make it. . . . We, every man and woman to-day, must create his small group first, and then, through its compounding with other groups, it ascends from stage to stage until the federal state appears.[17]

". . . . There is only one way in the world by which you can ever know whether there is a collective will, and that is by actually trying to make one." [18]

We have not yet achieved a State that expresses the popular will. We want not "government by consent," but conscious unity on a national, and indeed a world scale, achieved by the active co-operation of every individual.

The trouble largely is that we have not yet developed a popular will to express. For this we need education for self-government instead of for the bolstering up of privilege, a press rescued from the clutches of uncontrolled financial groups, and a greatly increased group co-operation in a rich variety of forms.

THE RULE OF THE SUPERMAN.

The old sovereign State was based far too much upon the conception of a superman at the top of the social pyramid directing the course of the world "for its good," those below him obediently carrying out his behests—"Theirs not to reason why . . . ." [19]

While men were content to be the serfs of such a system, it had a kind of efficiency—e.g., for specific purposes like running a war, where individual opinions must at all costs be suppressed except in the high command. It is still over a very wide field the basis of our industrial system, but the rebellion against it is gathering force so widely that the machine is ceasing to deliver the goods.

THE WORLD AS IT CAN BE MADE.

The teaching of Jesus, putting human values always first, works out in self-government in every department of life. His ideals lead up to a world-society of voluntary co-operators, so inspired with the sense of their oneness that they act socially every time without any need of coercion. That is the ideal which all true democracy must seek. Only in the voluntary

16 "Self-Government in Industry," 5th edition, p. 119

17 "The New State," p. 265.

18 Ibid., p. 274.

19 The idea is taken from Major Douglas' "Economic Democracy," ch. ii.

World-State, consciously based upon the realisation by the many of their oneness in the whole human family, will democracy achieve its final realisation.

An impossible dream, do we say? But social psychology is only at the very beginning of its explorations. It foreshadows unmeasured possibilities of enriching human nature by spiritual inter-penetration, and of thus achieving a solidarity hitherto undreamed of. When education is consciously designed to foster creative originality and group co-operation; when its fullest opportunities are available for every child who is born into the world; when industry is run (as it can be run) for common service instead of private gain; when life is secure for all; when art, music, culture of every kind, are brought within reach of all; when throat-cutting competition, degrading conditions, and the fear that leads to selfishness and deceit are banished from the earth—what may not human nature achieve? Freed from his chains, allowed to expand in the sunlight, man will realise in a new sense that "to him who hath shall be given," and that abundantly.

Therefore we must not despair of achieving a world organisation that shall truly express the people's will, even if at the moment it seems very far beyond our reach. Perhaps some new Workers' International will show us the way to it, but if so, its aim must not be dictatorship of the proletariat, but the entire abolition of class. There must be no more proletariat and bourgeoisie, but a society of world-conscious equals. Class-consciousness may be a necessary preliminary stage in social evolution. It cannot be the final stage.

NEIGHBOURHOOD GROUPS.

But how are we to start to develop this social consciousness that will make all things new? Miss Follett describes at considerable length the "Community Centre Movement" in America and its success in creating neighbourhood consciousness. A newspaper of that country offered this advice: "*Get acquainted with your neighbour, you might like him.*" (Some people are said to avoid their neighbours for that very reason!)

In East Harlem there is "a committee of twelve mothers—one coloured woman, two Italian, two Jewish, two Irish, three American, one Polish, and one German"—who have set to work to investigate local conditions and find remedies for what is wrong. The Community Association's work has resulted in athletic clubs, dramatic clubs, parents' associations, physical examination of school children, and many like activities.[20]

"A Mothers' Club in one of the Boston School Centres found a united want—that of keeping their children off the streets

20 "The New State," p. 239.

on Saturday afternoon and giving them some wholesome amusement." They therefore asked permission of the city to use the cinema of the local high school for fairy-story films, the mothers themselves to manage the undertaking. Two facts should be noted here: "(1) They did not ask an outside agency to do something for them, for the men and women . . . of Boston *are* the city of Boston; (2) they were not merely doing something for their children on Saturday afternoons, they were in a sense officials of the city of Boston working for the youth of Boston."[21]

Miss Follett believes that group-consciousness is grown most naturally and effectively in some such way as this, and is destined to supersede the party system. It possesses, she urges, the advantage of treating problems on their merits instead of making them pawns in the party game. Neighbourhood organisation produces a fuller and more varied life than membership of any other group. It cuts across the barriers of education, wealth and social class, and is closely in touch with reality. (You know all about each other's back yards.) Differences of outlook stimulate to broadmindedness, for "it is not opposition but indifference which separates men." "A party gathering is always a crowd . . . (but) no one comes to his neighbourhood group pledged beforehand to any particular way of thinking."[22] Such a group will tend to develop the only true kind of leadership—that leadership which calls out the best in others. "The leader guides the group and is at the same time himself guided by the group, is always a part of the group. No one can truly lead except from within."[23]

Neighbourhood organisation must teach people "not to influence politics . . . but to *be* politics. . . . *The relation of neighbours to one another must be integrated into the substance of the state.* Politics must take democracy from its external expression of representation to the expression of that inner meaning hidden in the intermingling of all men."[24]

CONCERNING CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

All this raises the question whether our aim should be to stimulate or to abolish class-consciousness, and whether at least a Labour Party is not necessary for some time to come.

Many who have never themselves been under the Iron Heel (as have the writers of Part II., Chapter I.) little realise how intense is the need of an oppressed class to develop solidarity, how great the heroism required to maintain it. The neighbourliness of the poor is such as to put the so-called "upper classes" entirely to shame. If Miss Follett's ideal of conscious

[21] "The New State," p 238 [22] p 225 [23] p 229
[24] Ibid, pp 240, 257

social unity is to become effective we must combine to abolish class domination. There is " a static violence of conservatism " —the mental attitude which clings to its privileges and powers—which is far more inexcusable than any occasional violence of the agitator or of the down-trodden class. Those of us who have had privileges of education or of inherited wealth must help to saw off the branch on which we sit. To turn class-consciousness into world-consciousness we must abolish class.

"THE THREE-FOLD STATE."

A line widely different from Miss Follett's is taken by Dr. Rudolf Steiner in his book, " The Three-fold State." [25] The book begins by analysing the origin of the class-consciousness of the workers. The workers assimilated the scientific outlook of last century, but far more radically than the possessing classes. The latter were able to receive the new scientific ideas without losing their old religious foundations; the workers, torn completely from their old ways of life by the industrial revolution and finding " religion " supported by their oppressors, came to look upon all religious beliefs as " ideology." Yet, says Steiner, they were at heart unhappy because they were seeking unconsciously for a spiritual basis for their lives. Hence the force and depth of the struggle to achieve a status of human dignity, the failure to attain which is registered in the conception " class-consciousness."

The workman realises the modern capitalistic system as one which recognises only commodities. He finds that part of himself has become a commodity, and naturally he is in revolt.[26]

The situation, says Steiner, cannot be remedied by economic action. Our economic life itself, consisting as it does in the production and use of commodities, " of necessity turns into a commodity everything that forms part of it." [27]

Labour power and human rights are at present bartered as commodities. This reduces the workman to a state of dependence in a way that a mutual exchange of genuine commodities between producer and consumer does not. In a healthily organised society labour cannot be priced against other pieces of goods. The only way to prevent labour power from being a commodity is to find some way of detaching it from the economic processes.[28] He therefore proposes a three-fold organisation of Society—(1) economic, (2) of equity (dealing with relations of right between human beings), (3) spiritual or mental (education, art, etc.). The Equity-State should be completely severed from the sphere of economics, but on the other hand the Equity-State must regulate everything which " in the

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25 Translation published by Allen & Unwin.

26 "The Threefold State," pp. 39, 40. 27 p. 42 28 p. 42

economic sphere forms the basis of an equitable relation between man and man." [29] The control of a man's conditions of work "must originate with the political (equity) State, in complete independence of economic administration." [30] For "the basis of equity . . . has . . . to be created out of the sense of right and justice within the domain of a political State detached from the economic life." [31]

Transactions between these two spheres would "be carried on pretty much as those between the governments of sovereign States at present." [32]

In the same way education is to-day debased by its dependence on the politico-economic State. History teaching, for example, is biassed by State requirements. "The really important thing is . . . that the forces of the spiritual (mental) life"—unfettered by material interests—"should be employed to discover the right method of restoring health to the community." [33]

INTERNATIONAL ASPECT OF THE THREE-FOLD STATE.

When the three-fold social division, says Dr. Steiner, becomes international in extent, "the result will be such an interweaving of interests of the various communities as will make frontiers seem negligible in the common life of mankind." [34] The spiritual life will then develop all manner of possibilities in a way unattainable as yet. Scientific work, for instance, is obviously international in character. The writer goes on to point out how the rulers of Europe had produced war by struggling to maintain the structure of their States in one indivisible form, "despite the evolution of modern times, which makes such a form incompatible with the very nature of healthy international relations." [35] The quarrel between Austria and Serbia was "itself a conclusive sign that the political boundaries of this one-fold State ought not, after a certain point of time, to have set the bounds to the intellectual and spiritual life of the peoples within it. Had the spiritual life possessed its own sphere, independent of the political state and political boundaries, it could then have spread out beyond those boundaries, and taken a development in harmony with the aspirations of its various peoples. . . . That intellectual and educational institutions might cut right across the frontiers of States was an idea that [the statesmen of Austria-Hungary] could not grasp." [36] And yet this idea is precisely what is needed in international life. Thus, faced with the alternatives of dissolution of the old form of government or of shoring up the internally tottering fabric by

29 "The Threefold State," p. 68. 30 p. 81. 31 p. 82. 32 p. 67.
33 Ibid., pp. 86 ff., 121. 34 pp. 177, 178. 35 pp. 186, 187. 36 p. 188.

external force, Austria-Hungary failed to recognise her mission to lead the way in developing a sound social structure, and this failure drove her into war.

In like manner the "German Empire was founded . . . when the tendencies of the new age towards a healthy social order were striving to become realised. Had she given them realisation, the Empire might have justified her right to existence before the judgment of history."[87] But the form of State which . . . the rulers of the German Empire "had in their mind's eye could only rest upon military force. . . . German policy . . . had in fact reached such a dead point (in August, 1914) . . . that it was without resources; and the final decision . . . whether war should be declared and in what way was, as a consequence, inevitably left to the military authorities. . . . *From the military point of view* [they could do no other] than what was done." A similar blindness obsessed the framers of the Peace. "And now," concludes Dr. Steiner, "a new situation has come about from the actual facts arising out of the catastrophe of the war. Its distinguishing mark is the idea of mankind's social impulses." Is the world barren of ideas, as in 1914? "Countries, that were able to stand aloof from the problems that presented themselves then, cannot stand aloof from the social movement now. This is a question that admits of no political adversaries, of no neutrals. Here must be but one human race working at one common task—a human race ready and willing to read the signs of the times and to act accordingly."

APPLICATIONS NEARER HOME.

A citizen of a conglomerate empire such as was Austria-Hungary naturally speaks from bitter experience of the evils of forced political unity. Are we prepared to turn eyes equally wide open across the Irish Channel and elsewhere? I believe, however, that Steiner carries his separation of function somewhat too far. He does indeed definitely subject his Economic State to the control of his Equity State (a proceeding which might lead to friction in practice). But the Guildsman, while also insisting on a division of Society according to function, rightly provides for more than ambassadorial links between economic and political bodies. On the other hand, Miss Follett in a criticism of the guilds says: "As long as you call the affairs of the guilds 'material,' and say that the politics of the state should be purified of financial interests, you burn every bridge which might make a unity of financial interests and sound state policy."[88]

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87 "The Threefold State," p. 190.

88 "The New State," p. 261.

The guilds, of course, like Steiner's "Economic State" have to deal especially with bread and butter questions. The real point is: Will these questions be dealt with in a spirit of service and for the good of all? Will separation of functions tend to the growth of the fullest life? At present the economic disease is corrupting the non-economic activities of the State. If all industry became "a self-governing public service" and class privilege were abolished, the anti-social struggle for economic power would in large measure cease to debase public life.

Guildsmen in any case contemplate joint councils representing both the economic and the political spheres, in order to secure co-ordination between them.

The group spirit and practice which Miss Follett advocates, and which the Friends and others have proved effective, is, I believe, essential to true democracy, but the undifferentiated group encounters immense difficulties when it grows beyond a size where people can know each other individually. So soon as representation has to be introduced, the functional division of Society is necessary, and there seems no reason why functional groups should not achieve the same sort of group spirit as neighbourhood groups, and work peaceably alongside of them. The working out of functionalism in greater detail will be discussed when we come in Chapter IV. to Guild Structure.

CHAPTER IV.

Some Current Proposals.

What an individual factory can do at once—The Priestman Scheme—John Leitch and "Industrial Democracy"—Guild Socialism outlined—Devolution and Leadership—Craftsmanship and Itiative—The small independent producer—Finance of the Guild—Abolition of Unemployment—The Status of the Consumer—Education and Health—Artists and authors—Structure of the Commune—Guild Socialism and Agriculture—Evolution and revolution—Teaching of Jesus and the Guild—London's first Guild Contract—Prospectus of the London Guild of Builders—A personal impression—Builders' Guild now on a national basis—Note on Soviets.

I. WHAT AN INDIVIDUAL FACTORY CAN DO AT ONCE.

THOUGH I believe there can never be true peace under capitalism, and that no one should rest satisfied till it has been superseded by social structure based upon co-operative principles, I am not yet convinced that joint control with the capitalist is not in many cases a temporary step toward complete democratic control by all who work with hand or brain. An employer in a big factory said to a group of us the other day, "I believe if we handed over the factory to the workers on Monday they would make a ghastly hash of it; they know nothing about buying and selling—what chance have they had to know?" It is true that many Trade Unionists regard the benevolent employer as a worse enemy than the bad employer, and if he introduces all sorts of welfare projects in order to increase his own profits or to chloroform the agitation for a better system, they are right. But a number of employers are honestly desirous of sharing responsibility as well as proceeds, yet, like my friend quoted above, they believe that without their expert knowledge the business would collapse. The reply to that may well be that if they trusted the workers enough the latter would probably have the sense to elect them—or more capable people—to the managerial positions in which the business needed them, also to make use of the needed technicians and experts.

The worker can only learn control of industry by practising it, and provided it is clearly understood that joint control is but a stepping-stone to complete control (the former employer being, of course, always at liberty to volunteer for the new scheme and take his chance of election), joint control may give the worker a training which is indispensable to his final success. But the employer ought surely the more to strive at the first possible moment to abolish his own autocratic power, however

benevolent, and an employer has to be a sincere and earnest man to do this willingly.

Now as to what an individual firm can do. The firm I am thinking of provides free treatment by doctor, nurse, dentist, oculist, bright workrooms, pictures on the walls, flowers in the corridors, facilities for drying wet clothes. There are also departmental and works councils dealing with the incidence of wages and with questions of dismissal; there is a Pension Scheme, and an Unemployment Fund started by a sum of £10,000 put down by the firm, and carried on by joint contribution of the State, the firm, and Trade Unions. A director of this firm told me he thought that if such schemes were extended to cover all the firms in the industry the unemployment problem would be well on the way to solution.

Another firm I have known introduced a profit-sharing system by revealing the complete balance sheet in a verbal statement, firstly to a selected number of men employees, mostly overlookers, and afterwards to an elected works committee of both men and women. They now have employee shareholders, who receive a full statement half-yearly, and if they wish can have access to the books, though the request has never been made. In the first of these cases the total sum drawn as salary by the directors was made known, and the men knew exactly what share they drew as wages as compared to shareholders and directors. The endeavour has been to introduce frankness into the relationship between the management and the employees, and it has been a success. It is intended to admit employees to the directorate when the shares of any reach £500. Owing to the present slump the profit-sharing scheme is held up for the present. One of the directors who writes to me says that he does not believe profit-sharing is a solution of the industrial problem—it is only patching up a rotten system. What he wants is a Socialism pure and simple. It is indeed essential that the management, in any case where the workers are not prepared to take control at once, should regard their position as at best (or worst) merely transitory, and should on no account talk about "my business" or "my factory."[1]

I would honour the public spirited employer for what he has done and is trying to do; but all the more would I insist that *the relationship of employer to employee as such inevitably falls short of the true basis of Christian fellowship.* Will not employers recognise this and strive with all their power to make the true basis a reality?

A business employing others is a public, not a private concern, and has no right to exist unless it is run for public welfare, not

[1] Should not the directors of a business refuse to live on a scale which appreciably exceeds that of their workpeople, all really necessary expenses being allowed for in addition on both sides?

for private gain. The public welfare can only be attained satisfactorily by public control. The teaching of Jesus as to the boundless worth of all personality, and the infinite superiority of life to goods can mean no less than this. Autocratic control, however benevolent, denies to the people the life more abundant, the life of initiative, responsibility and self-determination. " The kings of the earth exercise authority, and its great men are called ' benefactors,' but it shall not be so among you."

II. CO-PARTNERSHIP, WORKS COUNCILS AND " INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY."

The remedy for the industrial deadlock suggested by many is *Co-partnership* of some kind.

There is, for instance, the Priestman scheme of " Co-operative Production." The basis of this arrangement is " If a number of men, in a given time, are capable of producing on the ordinary day-rates-pay a certain quantity of finished machinery called the ' standard output,' then, if by greater collective individual effort, without adding to the number of men or working more hours, the output is increased, it is equitable that the day rates wages be supplemented by a percentage equivalent to that by which the output exceeds the standard."

The firm has claimed that " due to the introduction of the scheme there is an average increase in our deliveries of approximately 40 per cent. . . . From the day when the scheme was put into operation to the present time, the relations between employer and employed altered completely, and ever since have been of the most harmonious character."

Very favourable written evidence of foremen and Trade Union representatives declares that the system has helped to develop a co-operative spirit within the works. The account showing the excess earned each month is posted in the works, and before that is done the figures are placed before the members of the Works Committee, who are free to ask for any information in order to satisfy themselves that the percentage by which their day rates of wages will be increased for the four following pay days is correct. This fact has much to do with the mutual confidence which is a marked feature in these works. In case of slackness of trade there are arrangements for working short time so as to share out the work among all.

The firm has a Works' Council, which is able to modify the scheme, and the scheme has been submitted to, and approved by, a number of Trade Unions and Friendly Societies.

With the above we may class some very interesting experiments in works' self-government which have been tried in America, and are described in a book entitled " Man to Man,"[2]

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[2] Published by the B. C. Forbes Company, 299, Broadway, New York.

the Story of Industrial Democracy," by John Leitch. The author is rather careful to disclaim socialistic sympathies and utopian dreams, but he is satisfied that the present way of carrying on industry is grievously wasteful and inefficient, just because it so largely ignores the human element.

He describes the early welfare work in American factories, and how the material improvements it brought about stimulated new desires which the paternally-minded employer regarded as ingratitude. Antagonism therefore developed on both sides, resulting in strikes and great loss of output. Relationships between employer and employed were impersonal, there was "no easy informal way of getting together and finding out about each other." The real cause of strikes is, he says, that men have "the half-articulated feeling that they should be treated not as mere material but as co-promoters of industry; that there should be a dignity in their position and relations."[3]

Leitch then proceeds to describe the remarkable success actually achieved in a number of large businesses (including a piano factory, a briar-pipe factory, a velvet factory, and a foundry) by the introduction of a system of joint management, in which the benefits of economies effected should be shared between firm and employees. A business policy was suggested with the watchwords "Justice, Economy, Energy and Service,"[4] and at every step the men were consulted and their consent obtained.

Leitch says that the only experiments that broke down were those in which the employers entered upon them from motives of gain and self-interest; where they acted with obvious sincerity the response was remarkable. For instance, in the piano factory one day "six men called on the president. They said that their gang could spare a hand . . . the only thing that bothered them was that none of them wanted to lose a job; if any place in the factory could be found for the sixth man, they knew they could make a saving. A place was found and they made the saving."[5]

The meeting of the workers resolved to reduce the factory hours from ten to nine, and several months later from nine to eight. This was done, and in both cases output and wages were increased in considerable measure because of the increased inventiveness of the men. But there was no speeding up, and quality was greatly improved.

There was no information the weekly mass meetings of the men could not have for the asking. These were later held monthly because "not enough happened to require the continuance of weekly gatherings."[6] On one occasion they decided that, as the president had not taken a vacation within their

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[3] "Man to Man," p. 28. [4] pp. 39-43. [5] p. 45. [6] pp. 56 and 60.

memory, he should be granted a three weeks' vacation. They further intimated that "they expected the president to regard their wish in this respect as law. He declared that the company could not function without him. They came back with the assertion that they could do better without him. He took the three weeks' vacation. When he came back he found that all previous production and sales records had been beaten!"

Hear Mr. Bond, the president's own words on the change: "We used to build pianos. Then we stopped building pianos and began to build men—they have looked after the building of the pianos. We have adopted as the slogan of the Packard Company, 'If there is no harmony in the factory there will be none in the piano.'"

The president . . . "hopes to devise ways and means for the men themselves to become so financially interested that they can guide and control the company."[7]

The new policy has done ten things—reduced hours, increased output, produced better pianos, increased income for the workers, put the whole man to work, abolished misunderstanding, given each man a share of the responsibility, made real inventors of many workmen, instilled a spirit of genuine comradeship into the entire organisation, and established a new kind of democracy.

But the following paragraph *re* the Union must be noted:

"The men have made their own wages higher than they could possibly ask through the union; they do not need outside rules because they make their own rules. The men and the company being one, no room has yet been found for an outsider to wedge into."[8]

Of the next chapter (IV.), which describes like astonishing results in a briar-pipe factory, I will quote only the last paragraph. "But mark this. That factory formerly could hardly get its complement. Now, with labour even scarcer, it has a waiting list."

Chapter V. describes the former large amount of work formerly spoiled in a velvet factory, and the great success of a quality instead of a quantity bonus worked out by the Works Committee. Chapter VI. takes us to a foundry near Cleveland, Ohio, which had been run for years with considerable success on the old autocratic methods. Then came the "Industrial Revolution of 1916." The labourer, having a dozen jobs to select from, lost all fear of discharge and worked when he liked. The management could not understand the new order of things. "The president tried out various bonus systems of production; he looked into efficiency methods, [but] . . . neglected the factor which had undergone the greatest change—

[7] "Man to Man," pp. 60, 61. [8] p. 62.

the human factor. All the methods presumed that money incentives would bring men up to capacity. In that they reckoned wrongly.

"The president, his son and the foremen railed. But what was the use? The men, when too much bossed, simply took up their coats and went on to the next job. Boss rule . . ." collapsed.

Meanwhile the company was being deluged with orders. The president raised wages 10 per cent. "He determined to buy production." But production fell 10 per cent. He therefore added another 10 per cent. at the end of the month. Production dropped another 10 per cent. The president put on a third 10 per cent., making a total increase of 30 per cent. within three months. This gave no better results than the previous ones. The company executives were willing to try anything. It was then they heard of Industrial Democracy.

John Leitch came, got the men to meet with the officers and directors to talk matters over. The men spoke of the high cost of living. Leitch suggested self-government and working for their own benefit, and the idea of the men getting a dividend on their wages calculated on their own savings and efficiencies. The response was rapid.

Not long after, six men told the superintendent they must have a higher piece rate or would quit. He replied: "This is out of my hands now. If your rates are not right tell your representatives about them, and the House of Representatives will appoint a committee to see that you get what is coming to you."

The investigating committee appointed reported against the men, as having asked the higher rate in order to do less work for the same money. The men accepted the verdict, and worked well afterwards.

The House investigated the question of faulty castings. A committee proposed the appointment of an expert who could tell the cause of these, and suggested one of their own number. The company appointed him. "The men, recognising that he was a man who knew what he was talking about, were glad to have his advice. When they were puzzled on a mould they began to get his approval before the pouring began. . . . The improvement in quality was remarkable, but what is even more remarkable is that the team spirit produced not only better castings but more of them." In the fifth month of the experiment the company had a net increase in production and shipping of 52 per cent. in excess of the best month in their history. More men were needed. The Cabinet (representing the Management) decided on this only after consultation with the Senate (representing sub-foremen, heads of departments, etc.) and the

House of Representatives (representing the men). But there appeared to be no accommodation for them, as the town was already crowded.

A worker suggested, "Let every man here who has a house take in a temporary boarder." The thirty men then hired thus found accommodation, and later many more.

With regard to method, Leitch maintains that "a form of democracy should be adopted which permits the most direct possible action by the workers themselves, and practically without rigid limitation of its extent. . . . If you do fix limits . . . the natural human instinct is to spend most of the time leaning over that fence trying to get into the next field."[9]

His scheme is based upon the Federal Government of U.S.A. "In a large institution one would require a Cabinet, Senate and House of Representatives, supplemented by mass meetings of the entire working force, as occasion requires."[10] Leitch's plan with regard to wage-fixing is the "Collective Economy Dividend."[11] The cost of a unit of production before the introduction of his scheme is compared with the cost after. "If there is a saving, one half that aggregate saving . . . is paid to the men as an added percentage to wages," and paid not less often than fortnightly.

It will be noticed that the above experiments are confined to individual factories. They afford striking evidence of the success possible to schemes of industrial self-government in general, but they do not solve the problems of social inequality, unemployment and uncertainty of life, nor remove the many ills due to vast aggregations of wealth, land or credit power in the hands of a few. It is easy also to see how such experiments *alone* might tend to destroy the solidarity of the working class movement, also how they might raise the higher class worker without doing much to assist the bottom dog.[12]

III. GUILD SOCIALISM.

The Practice of Self-Government by All.

Let us pass therefore to the completer schemes of the Guildsman, who, building upon self-government in industry as his foundation, has a plan of reconstruction for Society as a whole, which, he claims, is not a mere theory up in the clouds, but a giving of form and direction to "certain quite definite tendencies which are now at work in Society," and is also an anticipation of "the most natural developments of already existing institutions and social forces.[13] Guildsmen assume

9 "Man to Man," p 139. 10 pp. 140, 141. 11 p. 165.

12 If any member of the possessing classes objects to certain forms of Trade Union action on Christian grounds as unduly militant, he can only meet the objection by the Christian method of sharing his own privileges, and abolishing his own position of master.

13 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," by G. D. H. Cole (Parsons), p. 11.

that the essential social values are human values. . . . It is not enough that the forms of government should have the passive or 'implied' consent of the governed. . . . The (Guild) Society will be in health only if it is in the full sense democratic and self-governing, which implies not only that all the citizens should have a 'right' to influence its policy . . . but that the greatest possible opportunity should be afforded for every citizen actually to exercise this right." [14] Guildsmen regard this democratic principle "as applying not only or mainly to some special sphere of social action known as 'politics,' but . . . to industrial and economic, fully as much as to political affairs."

If Christianity stands for the infinite worth of human personality, all this must be involved in its application to life. Is it well, for instance, that the great workers' organisation, the Trade Union, should remain a body external to the actual control of industry? Because in the past it has had to act on the defensive, its mode of action to-day is to a large extent negative and restrictive. There seem, then, to be two alternatives—either the Unions are to be broken, or they are to take control. The American schemes we have been considering, valuable as they doubtless are as education for self-government and as stepping-stones to its fuller realisation, have little or no use for Trade Unionism as an attempt to raise the status of the whole working class together. The question therefore is: "Can the Unions themselves and any other workers' organisations of national expansion, such as the Co-operative Societies, be made the instruments of industrial self-government?" [15] Cole believes that they can, provided that their organisation is altered to adapt it to new purposes.

"The essentials of democratic representation . . . are," he says, "first, that the represented shall have free choice of, constant contact with, and considerable control over his representative. The second is that he should be called upon . . . to choose someone to represent his point of view only in relation to some particular purpose or group of purposes, in other words some particular *function*. All true and democratic representation is therefore *functional* representation." [16] He recommends that a man should have as many distinct, and separately exercised, votes as he has distinct social purposes or interests.[17] Men are bound together by doing a common work or by having a common interest. Trade Unionism, *e.g.*, represents the former, the Co-operative Movement the latter kind of bond. Not the miners alone, but everyone has an interest in coal; not

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14 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," by G. D. H. Cole (Parsons), p. 12.

15 I believe the machinery both of Trade Unions and of the Co-operative Society wants a great deal of overhauling. The Shop Steward movement is to my mind one clear proof of this. The retention of the wage system by the Co-operative is another. I am dealing here with the broad principle of workers' control.

16 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," pp. 32, 33.

17 pp. 33, 34.

the teachers alone, but everyone has an interest in education. Yet craftsmen have clearly a unique interest in their special work—the miners in coal production, the teachers in teaching. The Guildsman maintains that in a right apprehension of this issue and in a clear distinction of function and sphere of activity lies the key to the situation. He seeks to meet the claim to adequate consideration and representation of producer and consumer alike.

Now the internal control of industry naturally concerns chiefly the producers; questions of marketing and distribution, the consumers. This control must be sufficiently direct and at close enough quarters to maintain a live interest all the time in the affairs of the concern in question. Each group must be able to frame in its own way common rules for governing internal affairs, and able to have at least a large voice in choosing its officials.

The mediæval "Gild[18] was a regulative rather than a directly controlling or managing body." It sought to maintain "both the liberties and rights of the craft and its tradition of good workmanship and faithful communal service, as expressed in the 'Just Price.'"[19] The Gild regulations "declared war on shoddy work, on extortion and usury, and on unregulated production. They afforded to their members a considerable security, and an assured communal status . . ."[20]

Mediæval industry "was imbued through and through with the spirit of free communal service. . . . Though there were sharp practices and profiteering in the Middle Ages, the Gildsman or the Gild that committed or sanctioned them did so in flat violation of moral principles which he or it had explicitly accepted as the basis of the industrial order. . . . To-day, commercial morality has made a code of its own"—a code based largely upon greed and fear.[21] We cannot, however, go back to the primitive and restricted conditions of mediævalism, but must rather recover the best in the mediæval spirit and adapt it to modern requirements.

"A National Guild (to-day) would be an association of all the workers by hand and brain concerned in the carrying on of a particular industry or service, and its function would be actually to carry on that industry or service on behalf of the whole community."[22]

As so much has lately been written about Guilds, and as in "Co-operation or Chaos?" I outlined the proposals contained in Mr. S. G. Hobson's "National Guilds" at some length, I must here content myself with indicating the line of some of the more recent developments of the idea, but with strong recommenda-

18 Cole uses the spelling "Gild" for the mediæval organization, "Guild" for the modern development of the idea.

19 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," p. 43. 20 pp. 43, 44. 21 pp. 44, 45. 22 pp. 46, 47.

tion to all who wish further detail to study for themselves the most recent works of Cole, S. G. Hobson, Beechofer and Reckitt, Penty, and others. (See Bibliography at end of the book). If possible also, go and see the Building Guilds at work!

DEVOLUTION AND LEADERSHIP.

Among Guildsmen there has been of late an increasing stress on *Devolution.* "The degree of centralisation," says Cole, "will largely depend on the character of the service. . . . Guildsmen are keen advocates of the greatest possible extension of local initiative and of autonomy for the small group, in which they see the best chance of keeping the whole organisation keen, fresh and adaptable, and of avoiding the tendency to rigidity and conservatism in the wrong things, so characteristic of large scale organisation, and especially of trusts and combines under capitalism to-day. The National Guilds would be, indeed, for the most part co-ordinating rather than directly controlling bodies, and would be concerned more with the adjustment of supply and demand than with the direct control or management of their several industries. . . . The factory, or place of work, will be the natural unit of Guild life. The freedom of the particular factory as a unit is of fundamental importance."[23] Every member of the Guild "must feel he is enjoying real self-government and freedom *at his work.*" This does not, of course, mean that everything is to be decided by mass vote—in matters of technique and detailed administration this would be absurd, and in areas larger than the factory other methods of choosing leaders may prove best. Leaders there will and must be, even in the most democratic society, but in the new society the leader "leads by influence and co-operation, and not by the forcible imposition of his will."[24] As a general practice the men on the job should choose their leaders for the job. This applies, says Cole, especially in the case of foremen. Unless these are "chosen directly by the particular body of men with whom they are to work . . . the spirit of co-operation will not be set flowing at its source, and the whole organisation will be deprived of its democratic impulse." He admits, however, that in the building trade, owing to the shifting character of operations, the building workers of an area should perhaps elect managers for particular jobs.[25] (The London Builders' Guild to-day definitely adopts the broader basis of election.)[26]

The leader under the Guild would in a sense be less powerful than to-day. He would have lost the uncontrolled power of "the sack," for a man threatened with dismissal would be tried by his

23 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," pp. 48, 49. In "Self-Government in Industry" Cole begins with shop self-government by shop committees—a unit smaller than the factory (Vth Edition, p. 211).

24 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," pp. 49-51. 25 p. 54.

26 See p. 115 of this book.

peers. He would not be able to ignore the public opinion of the rank and file. But if he used his position wisely he would find a support and co-operation that is little known to-day.[27] He would be free to develop the factory as a communal service instead of being, as now, constantly thwarted by considerations of shareholders' profit. But what security of tenure would he have? "Before he could be deposed," says Cole, "he should have the right to appeal to his peers—his fellow-managers—and if they held him in the right, but the workers still desired his dismissal, the case should go for judgment to a higher tribunal of the Guild. But even so, I think that after a certain lapse of time the workers under him should have the right to remove him; for a sustained desire to do so would prove incompatibility of temperament, which would unfit him for the co-operative task of democratic leadership in that particular factory."

Of course, there are difficulties in every new move. Traditions and habits of long standing will not be broken down in a day. But the success of the American experiments described above, and of the Building Guild hereafter to be described, shows that a great change in spirit can be made in a comparatively few weeks. It is said that the Bolsheviks, after trying factory self-government, have for the time being changed their minds. We must remember the lack of experience and of education of the Russian workers, and not necessarily conclude that what has once failed there must always fail everywhere. In the London Building Guild, as we shall see, the success of self-government has been very striking. To quote Cole again, "The new system will have to make its way gradually, and it will not be perfectly and securely established until it too has become an instinct and a tradition. We have, however, in the long run, no alternative to trying it; for the old idea of leadership by the imposition of will is breaking down with the old industrial system."[28]

Craftsmanship and Initiative.

The Guild factory is then, "to the fullest extent consistent with the character of its service, a self-governing unit, managing its own productive operations, and free to experiment to the heart's content in new methods, to develop new styles and products, and to adapt itself to the peculiarities of a local or individual market. This autonomy of the factory is the safeguard of Guild Socialism against the dead level of mediocrity . . . the guarantee of liveliness, and of individual work and workmanship."[29]

The larger Guild organisation based directly on the various factories included in the Guild would, where necessary, co-ordinate their production so that supply should correspond with demand. It would probably market finished products not directly disposed

27 See testimony of employers to "Industrial Democracy," "Man to Man," p. 211, etc.

28 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," pp. 58, 59, 55, 56. 29 p. 59.

of, would lay down general regulations, organise research, and arrange relations with other Guilds or with bodies abroad. "Its functions should be kept down to the minimum possible for each industry. . . If the Guilds are to revive craftsmanship and pleasure in work well done; if they are to produce quality as well as quantity, and to be ever keen to devise new methods and utilise every fresh discovery of science without loss of tradition; if they are to breed free men capable of being good citizens both in industry and in every aspect of communal life; if they are to keep alive the motive of free service—they must at all costs shun centralisation."[30]

Some central machinery, of course, there must be. "The Industrial Guilds Congress, successor to the Trades Union Congress of to-day, would represent directly every Guild concerned with industry or economic service."[31] Its chief internal function would be to lay down "the general principles of Guild conduct, in the form of general regulations within which each Guild would have to work," and it would be the ultimate court of appeal on purely Guild questions. There would, of course, also be local Guild Councils (bodies of great importance). They, or at least the regional councils representative of them, would be directly represented in the Industrial Guilds Congress.[32] It is vital that local points of view should have full expression.

THE SMALL INDEPENDENT PRODUCER.

Cole "would let alone and leave with the greatest possible freedom of development the small independent producer or renderer of service. . . There is no need," he says, "in all cases to claim for each National Guild a monopoly of its own form of production. . . The 'monopoly of labour' is a necessary instrument for fighting capitalism, but it would not be wise to build the new order in the spirit of monopoly."[33]

The Guild system is, however, put forward as the plan of general industrial application.

FINANCE AND BASIS OF PAYMENT.

"The financial system, and especially industrial banking, must obviously become integral parts of the Guild organisation, and the Banking system must . . . be under the control of the Guilds which it would have to finance. . . [34] There would be an immense mutual traffic among the Guilds, and much local as well as large scale exchange between them.[35]

With regard to payment, each Guild would (if inequality of pay continues for a time) draw up salary scales, "subject to review and modification by the Guilds Congress, which will be in a position to adjust the claims of various sections of workers. "Does

[30] "Guild Socialism Re-stated," pp. 59-61. [31] p. 69. [32] pp. 69-71.
[33] Ibid., pp. 65, 66. [34] p. 67. [35] p. 68.

this assume the case against equality of income?" Yes—and yet, emphatically, no. . . Equality of income cannot, and must not, be made a condition of the establishment of the Guild system; for . . . the moral and psychological conditions which would make such equality possible could develop only in the atmosphere of a free Society, and even there only by a gradual process. . . Equality, if it proves, as I think it must, the only solution of the problem of income, can only develop out of the actual experience of free and democratic industrial and social conditions; and I am sure that, when it does come, it will come, not in the absurd guise of 'equality of remuneration,' but by the destruction of the whole idea of remuneration for work done.''[36]

A member of a communist Brotherhood told the present writer that, after years of experience of communism, while still as convinced a communist as ever, he felt strongly that the idea of equal income was too mechanical. "Some time ago X. Y. (a famous social worker) lived with us for a considerable period. The rest of us came to the conclusion that in view of his needs and the important work he was doing, it was right that he should have a holiday on the Continent. We were able to afford him one by curtailing our own holidays, and this we felt perfectly satisfied to do. 'I quite agree,' he said, 'that the *basis* of communal life should be equal income, but there should also be perfect freedom to depart from it in cases where the community feels it to be advisable.' "

UNEMPLOYMENT ABOLISHED.

One point strongly emphasised by Guildsmen will be that loss of employment as it now exists will have disappeared. "Every Guildsman will be assured of his full income from the Guild, whatever the 'state of the market,' " a fact which will greatly steady the demand for commodities and services. . . "He will thus have gained one thing which the wage-worker most manifestly lacks to-day—economic security . . . not by submitting to slavery, but as a concomitant of industrial freedom."[37]

"He will not have to fear for his old age, or for his children's future; for his service will ensure to him maintenance at his standard when he retires" and his children will have "an assured place in a system open to all. For the Guilds will be, not closed corporations, but open associations which any man may join" (subject to apprenticeship regulations, a man having indeed free choice, but only of available openings where work is wanted). There will be in essence free choice of occupation.[38]

But who will do the dirty work under Guild Socialism? Cole does not believe it will be needful or advisable to resort to industrial conscription. Scientific methods could reduce this work to very narrow limits. "This has never been tried; for, under

36 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," pp. 72, 73. 37 p. 74. 38 pp. 74, 75.

capitalism, 'dirty work' is the last thing to which invention is usually applied. It is cheaper to exploit and ruin human beings. . . . Let us see what forms of 'dirty work' we can do without, and make up our minds definitely that, if any form of work is not only unpleasant but degrading, we will do without it, whatever the cost. No human being ought to be either allowed or compelled to do work that degrades.[39] For what dull or unpleasant work remains" there should be shorter hours, long holidays, and "'conditions attractive enough to men who have other uses for their time . . . [to cause enough] to undertake it voluntarily." Such work would then be done, not by the outcasts of Society, but by men with varied interests who like much time to pursue them.[40]

THE STATUS OF THE CONSUMER.

What voice in Industry should be given to the Consumer?

"I believe," says Cole, "that, in a very real sense, it is 'more blessed to give than to receive,' and that the emphasis of social organisation should therefore be on service rather than on common interest";[41] but it does not follow at all that the consumer as such should be entirely ignored. Has consumption, taken as a whole, any coherent social interest? It falls roughly into two divisions—(1) personal and domestic (corresponding to a great variety of taste) and (2) collective (where the product is supplied in the mass—e.g., railways—and not adapted to individual requirements). Concentration on the first type has produced the Co-operative Movement school of thought, that on the second type has produced Collectivism, especially Municipal Socialism.[42]

The State as a political body cannot be a proper representative of any form of consumption, because the representation of the consumer must be a functional, *ad hoc* representation; but if the duties at present exercised by Local Authorities were divided up, so that civic and economic services were no longer performed by one body, a Municipal *economic* body might fitly represent the consumer in relation to collective consumption, as the Co-operative Movement might represent him in relation to personal and domestic consumption.[43]

"In the Guild Socialist view the consumers' claim and interest does not properly extend to the direct management of industry, which would involve a servile status for the producer, but to the safeguarding of certain specific concerns of the consumer, mainly in connection with quantity and quality of production, adequacy of distribution to meet volume and variety of needs, and price of sale, with other closely related concerns."[44]

The normal conduct of each industry and service being in the

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39 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," pp. 75, 76. Information on these points should be available for all, and action publicly organized.

40 Ibid., p 76. 41 pp. 78, 79. 42 pp. 81-83. 43 pp. 85-87. 44 p. 88.

hands of the Guild, the producers as an organised profession should regard themselves as "put 'on their honour' to do their best." The consumers' organisation will make clear the consumers' needs and desires, "in the expectation, not that the producer will seek to thwart them, but that he will be eager to . . . respond to them, because he will have the strongest of social motives for doing so. . . The real reason for consumers' representation is that the 'consuming' point of view requires to be definitely expressed, in order that articulate demand may co-operate with, and direct the course of, organised supply."[45]

The consumers' organisations should also adopt the essential Guild idea of internal self-government. Joint consultation between the bodies representing producers and consumers would take place at every stage, local, regional and national, especially, among other things, with regard to semi-finished products.[46]

Education and Health.

As to education and health, it is suggested that these should be separated from the economic functions of the Municipal Body and from one another. Both of these services could with advantage be modelled on Guild lines. There should be decentralisation and opportunity for experiments, yet in the case of education the whole service, from the primary school to the University, should be brought into coherent relationship, the economic Guilds co-operating with regard to the technical branches of the subject. Each school, however, would be left as free as possible to strike out new lines for itself, for "it is better to admit many quackeries than boycott one real educational discovery."[47] *Guild* self-government is prepared for by self-government within the school.

But as education and health so vitally concern the whole people, it is not suggested that all questions connected with them should be left to be determined wholly by teachers and doctors. There should therefore be Cultural and Health Councils elected by all the citizens to express the civic point of view in these matters.[48]

Technical education should and could be treated, not as a money-making proposition, but as a cultural influence with its place alongside that of book learning.[49] The Universities might include Colleges, in large measure directly controlled by Guilds and professional associations.[50]

As to artists, authors and others, "heaven forbid that we should be tidily organised down to the last man and the last function! Many functions and some men are mercifully unorganisable altogether, and many more can only be organised in small units constantly forming and dissolving with spontaneous bursts of co-operation and dissociation. . . In a community permeated, as the Guild community would be, by the associative impulse,

45 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," pp. 88, 89. 46 pp. 90-93. 47 pp. 102, 103.
48 Ibid., pp. 105-109. 49 p. 113. 50 p. 114.

scientific and professional association of all types would flourish exceedingly, and secure readily the fullest social recognition. . .

" For democracy in industry and in every sphere of social life has for its supreme justification its power to call out in the mass of men the creative, scientific, and artistic impulses which capitalism suppresses or perverts and to enable the now stifled civic spirit to work wonders in the regeneration of human taste and appreciation of the good things of life."[51]

STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNE.

We have seen that the State to-day suffers from being overloaded with far too many inadequately differentiated functions, so that it cannot represent the elector, nor yet the consumer. Cole prefers to avoid the use of the term " the State " for the co-ordinating agency that the Guildsman postulates, because firstly, " the present political machine is definitely an organ of class domination," due to the fact that " it is based on coercion, and is primarily an instrument of coercion." The essential idea of the State, he maintains, is " that of an externally imposed ' order,' and its transformation into a form expressive of self-government and freedom is impossible."[52] Secondly, the State is based on the false idea that one man can represent another, not for a specific purpose, but absolutely. Consistently with the functional democracy on which the whole Guild system is based, the new co-ordinating body can be nothing other than a bringing together of the various functional bodies whose separate working has been already outlined. " Co-ordination is inevitably coercive unless it is self-co-ordination, and it must therefore be accomplished by the common action of the various bodies which require co-ordination.[53] The name *" Commune "* is suggested for the communal body thus formed. Among other things, it would apportion financial resources among the various services calling for expenditure.[54] Election need not always be direct. The essential thing is for the voter to have close contact with his representative in the small units within which close contact with him is possible, and to have the right of recall in the larger bodies as well as in the smaller.

No such sharp distinction as at present would exist between the Local and Central Government, and " by far the greatest part of the work of the community would be carried on and administered locally or regionally," the central work being " divided, according to function, among a considerable number of distinct organisations." " There would be neither need nor opportunity for a centre round which a vast aggregation of bureaucratic and coercive machinery would grow up."[55]

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51 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," pp. 114-116. 52 pp. 121, 122.

53 Ibid., p. 124. Those who wish to refer to the detailed working out of the scheme must consult the book itself.

54 Ibid., pp. 125, 128. 55 pp. 133, 134, 136.

The Civil Service, probably much reduced in numbers, would be distributed among the various Guilds and Councils.[56] Price would be arranged by agreement between the distributive Guild and the Co-operative Society (representing the consumer). If they disagree, the question must go to the Commune for discussion and final decision. Thus a Just Price would be arrived at.[57]

The provision of capital would be directly regulated by the Commune, before which all Guild and other budgets would go, so that an ordered balance between saving and spending might be achieved. The Commune would also determine "the allocation of income to those sections of the people who are not in receipt of an income directly from a functional body."[58] The greater part, however, of all this detailed financial work would be done, not by the Commune at all, but directly, and in consultation, by the various functional bodies. "Only moot points needing settlement and general questions of principle would normally come before the Commune."

Whether the Guilds or the Guild Congress maintain their own Banks or not, the issue of credit and control of currency would be in the hands of the Commune, and that of the Guilds could only work within the limits authorised by it."[59]

Constitutional laws determining the respective spheres of the various functional bodies would be passed chiefly by the National Commune, which would also appoint its judges.[60]

"The work of foreign trade and commercial relations . . . would be administered by the Guilds, working in conjunction with the economic councils of consumers. . . Any matter of international economic or civil policy might be referred to the Commune. The National Commune would thus be the supreme representative of the nation abroad,"[61] but economic and civic bodies would have their proper places in Embassies and Legations.

The whole sphere of personal and private relationships—personal conduct and property relations—"should be as little regulated as possible, except by the force of opinion, and . . . the need for laws affecting them would be greatly reduced in a democratic Society.[62]

Discussing the whole question of coercion, Cole, though he would at present provide means of invoking it as a last resort, points out that the best way to eliminate it is by ensuring for every reasonable claim the fullest possible amount of social consideration, for this will usually both destroy the will to resist, and bring the social opinion of the community, "which is a far more effective instrument than direct coercion, actively to bear upon the group. Guild Society is built on the basis of trusting the people,

56 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," p. 141. 57 pp. 141, 142. 58 pp. 144-146.
59 Ibid., p. 147. 60 pp. 149-150. 61 p. 152. 62 p. 154.

and of placing power, and with it responsibility, in the hands of the functional bodies."[63]

GUILD SOCIALISM AND AGRICULTURE.

In the chapter on Guild Socialism in Agriculture it is pointed out that Socialism does not at all necessarily commit its adherents to large-scale "industrialised" farming. It "is fully as compatible with small-scale cultivation."[64] There is every reason why a man should be free "to till a plot of land in his own way, subject to minimum safeguards as to proper use of the land. There is every reason why he should not be free to exploit the labour of his wife and children"; but employment of children must be communally regulated, and women will find economic and social independence assured to them.[65] But farming should be carried on as far as possible by associated groups of producers, and not by hired labour.

If in some cases hired labour had to be retained, it should be supplied only through and by the Guild, under conditions of employment and status laid down by it.[66] "The small or middle-sized farm conducted on this principle could, in many cases, be directly a part of the Guild, and the associated producers on it be a unit in the Guild organisation."[67] Some, however, might remain outside the Guild, though bound to comply to some extent with its regulations, and probably using it as an agency for buying and selling. In Canada the growth toward "alliance between a large section of organised farmers and the Trade Union movement" encourages the hope that a democratic organisation on producers' co-operative lines may give the small farmer an assured place in rural Guild organisation. Under the simpler conditions of the village, Guild and Co-operative Society might often be merged in one.[68] (All this is quite tentative, but the National Guilds League is at work on the problem.)

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION.

As to the methods of achieving the ends of Guild Socialism, Cole does not think that constitutional political action will suffice. "The existing State organisation is quite unsuited to the execution of any purpose involving fundamental structural changes in Society."[69] Moreover, the transformation required is fundamentally not political, but economic,[70] and the action taken must be primarily economic. Trade Unions can, indeed, extend the amount of their control over industry, but "a revolutionary element is unavoidable in any 'thorough' policy of social transformation. But it is none the less clear that the maximum development of the evolutionary policy, especially on its economic and industrial side, would not merely make the chances of the

63 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," p. 157. 64 p. 164. 65 p. 167. 66 p. 169.
67 Ibid., p. 168. 68 pp. 172, 173, 165. 69 p. 179. 70 p. 180.

success of any 'revolutionary' action infinitely greater, but would tend to reduce to the minimum the amount of 'revolutionary' action required.''[71] He then discusses possible kinds of revolutionary action, and first points out the futility, in present circumstances, of civil war.[72] Extended Direct Action also leaves at present far too much to providence—i.e., until the evolutionary action has been carried much farther than it has yet been. He therefore believes in doing all possible to develop Trade Unionism and Co-operation. "He who wishes revolution to succeed should hasten towards it slowly, and prepare the way for it by detailed conquests. . . Especially for Guild Socialists, who have not only a positive ideal but a definite evolutionary programme, it seems clear that the thing to aim at—whether we can in fact attain to it or not—is not early revolution, but the consolidation of all forces on the lines of evolutionary development, with a view to making the 'revolution,' which in one sense must come, as little as possible a civil war and as much as possible a registration of accomplished facts and a culmination of tendencies already in operation."[73] The next chapter advocates the transition policy of "encroaching (*not* joint) control" (1) by the workers themselves appointing workshop supervisors and foremen, (2) by the substitution of "a collective relation of the employer to all the workers in the shop, so that the necessary labour is in future supplied by the Union, and the workers substitute their own collective regulations for 'hiring and firing' for those of the employer, and, wherever possible, enter into a collective contract with him to cover the whole output of the shop, and themselves, according to their own Union regulations, apportion the work and share out the payment received." This is known as the "*Collective Contract.*"[74]

"Again, an obvious line of advance. . . is for the Trade Unions directly to insist that . . . the maintenance of the unemployed at their customary standard of life should be recognised as a legitimate charge upon the various industries; . . . the insecurity of discontinuous employment, which is one of the 'stigmata' of wage slavery, should thus be removed from the workers.''[75]

The remarkable experiment of the Building Guilds is then alluded to, and the question raised, why cannot the workers in other industries follow the example of the builders? For two reasons—(1) Hardly any other industry can be carried on with practically no fixed capital; (2) both private and State "enterprise" are so manifestly failing to produce the houses needed that the Guild offer has unusual chances of success. Obviously the miners cannot work in the same way so long as mines are

[71] "Guild Socialism Re-stated," pp. 181, 182. [72] pp. 183, 184.
[73] Ibid., pp. 186, 187. [74] p. 199. [75] p. 200.

privately owned and plant is costly. Therefore they demand public ownership as a necessary step to full self-government.[76]

Finally, with regard to the international situation, Cole points out how similar are the aspirations and movements toward industrial self-government and public control in all the leading countries. Guild Socialists must aim at "the re-creation of world Society as a federation of free and internally self-governing communities," bound together by the closest economic and civic ties, "and perhaps above all, by that very difference and uniqueness of each . . . without which the community would be empty and without meaning."[77]

What is to be our attitude to the proposals outlined above? In essence I believe they are in line with the insistence of Jesus on the development of personality in every human being. But it is also perfectly clear that he would leave no stone unturned in order to bring about the required change by consent.

A co-operative commonwealth "won" by conflict, if it can be so won, will be an imperfect thing, seared and marred by the scars of struggle. It *can* only be realised fully when it is realised by consent.

The challenge here thrown down is above all a challenge to the possessing classes. Are we[78] going to cling to our privileges to the last minute, or shall we have the joy of throwing in our lot with the dispossessed (as I haven't the faintest doubt Jesus would do) in their struggle to attain a fuller life?

LONDON'S FIRST GUILD CONTRACT.[79]

> "In witness whereof the said Walthamstow Urban District Council and the said Guild of Builders (London) Limited and the said Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited have respectively caused their Common Seals to be hereunto affixed the day and year first above written."

It has come at last, and it is one of the most significant and dramatic things in the history of industry. At a time when charges of selfishness—of lack of imagination—of output restriction, and what not, were being heaped upon the building trade unions, these very unions were quietly working out a great new system of industrial organisation, based upon service instead of gain, and designed to enrol for the rapid building of the nation's houses all the science and skill that the building industry can

76 "Guild Socialism Re-stated," pp. 203-205.

77 Ibid., Ch. xii. especially p. 216.

78 I hardly know whether I belong to them now, but I have been brought up in them and desire very earnestly to appeal to them as one who has shared their privileges and in many ways still does so.

79 The article by Malcolm Sparkes, here reproduced, is reprinted from *The Challenge*, 7/1/21. Malcolm Sparkes is general secretary of the Guild of Builders (London), Ltd.

muster. The story is a veritable romance. Launched almost simultaneously both in Manchester and London, the Guild idea has fired the imagination of the building trade operatives throughout the country. The whole thing is really surprisingly simple. The Guild is a democratic self-governing public service, in which the control rests with the people who do the work and not with the people who put up the money—which guarantees continuous pay to its workers in every contingency—devotes the whole of its surplus earnings, not to dividends, but to the improvement of its service—regards capital as the hired equipment of industry, to be paid for, if required, at limited rates without powers of control, and maintains complete publicity as to costs, charges and prices.

GUILD STRUCTURE.

The London Guild Committee, which is registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts, is composed of one elected representative of every essential function in the building industry. The technical and administrative services have their representatives, the bricklayers and other craft unions have theirs, the labourers theirs. Besides these there are the representatives of each of the Local Guild Committees formed to organise the labour supply in their own areas.

THE CONTRACT.

By the terms of the contract the Guild undertakes the whole of the work comprised in the building of 400 houses, the Co-operative Wholesale Society supplies the materials, and the Co-operative Insurance Society issues a policy to guarantee the due performance of the contract—the liability being, however, limited to one-fifth of the estimated cost. The price paid by the Walthamstow Urban District Council is the net cost of labour and materials, plus £40 per house to form a fund for continuous Guild pay, plus 6 per cent. calculated on the estimated cost, to cover the use and waste of plant and head office expenses. One of the attractive features is the complete publicity of the whole transaction. There are no invisible margins, and the whole network of secrecy that has so often surrounded commercial transactions in the past is completely swept away. The Guild does its work as an organised public service with all the cards on the table.

THE CALL TO TECHNICIANS.

Perhaps the boldest and most interesting development in the whole scheme is the Guild's call for volunteers. Having caught a glimpse of the stupendous possibilities of *Industrial Revolution by consent*, these big trade unions of the building industry, undismayed by all the staggering chaos of the moment, have actually set up the framework of a new and better industrial

order, have flung aside all class distinctions, and have issued a prospectus[80] which calls, not for money, but for men from every grade of the industry—whether administrative, technical or operative.

They believe that their conception of an industry as a great self-governing democracy of organised public service is inspiring and creative, and will win by its own greatness—that it needs no threats to help it through, and may even be retarded by such methods. They recognise that much will depend upon the response of the best administrators and technicians to the call of the Guild. Without them it may struggle through; with them it will ride swiftly forward to complete success.

Will they volunteer? Will they boldly place their skilled experience at the service of the new industrial democracy and take their full share in the greatest task that has ever been attempted? One of the opportunities of history lies before them now, and already there are signs of their answer.

The following is the text of the letter issued by the London Guild of Builders to every Guildsman on engagement :—

> " The Board of Directors extends to you its heartiest welcome upon your entry into Guild Service. Together we shall try to show that the control of industry, *by the people who do the work,* is the finest and most scientific form of industrial organisation that has ever been tried—far better than control by shareholders, by consumers, by Municipalities, or by the State. We want you to understand that *you are a part of a great self-governing team of organised public service, which intends to guarantee* you against contingencies and asks you to pull your weight. . . . We are going to make industry splendid." [80*]

The Prospectus of the Guild of Builders is an absolutely unique document. Its motto is " Industry organised for Service," and beside this motto are the following words of Maude Royden's :—

> " We are convinced that what we can see, others can see, and nothing will persuade us that the world is not ready for an ideal for which we are ready."

The following quotations from it show the spirit in which it is conceived :—

" A Guild is a self-governing democracy of organised public service. It is the very embodiment of the ' team spirit.' In its full development it means a whole industry cleared for action, with all sections united for a common purpose—with a new incentive—the organised service of the community, instead of the attainment of profits.

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80 Obtainable from the Guild of Builders (London), Ltd., 52, Russell Square, W.C 1. Price 2½d., post free.

80* Italics by the present writer

It boldly challenges the industrial traditions of a century, and makes its appeal solely to the best instincts and creative impulses of men. For it is the first industrial organisation in history that is set up to *give* service rather than to *get* it. Every word that Ruskin or Mazzini uttered on the claims of Duty and of self-expression in free service finds its echo here. This is the soul of the movement. It stands on a different plane from all other industrial systems, whether controlled by the State, by Municipalities, or by consumers. They are the organisation of *Rights*. Guilds are the organisation of *Duties*.

THE CALL OF THE GUILD.

"It is always possible to *enrol the best men on the side of the best idea.*" [80*]

Rightly planned, a Guild will be the finest piece of industrial organisation that we have yet seen. It will summon to its aid the very best ability and talent that our industry can offer. Administrators—Technicians—Mechanics—Workers of every type will volunteer for its service, without thought of monetary gain; conscious that they are entering upon one of the greatest tasks in history; conscious that it needs them and cannot do without them.

OBJECTS OF THE GUILD.

The first and immediate duty of the Guild is to mobilise the necessary labour to build the houses so urgently needed by the nation, and to build them in the best possible manner at the lowest possible cost.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL IN PRACTICE.

The Guild Committee is responsible for the appointment and removal of Managers and General Foremen, and for the fixing of their salaries.

It is important to notice here the difference between the Guild practice and that of the self-governing workshops which have so often been set up without conspicuous success. The manager of a self-governing workshop is responsible to his own staff. The Guild Manager, however, is responsible—through the Guild Committee—not only to his own staff, *but to the whole of the organised Building Trade Operatives in the District.*[80*] This gives him security without weakening the full democratic control by the workers.

THE NEW STATUS OF THE GUILD WORKER.

The labour of Guildsmen will no longer be regarded as a commodity like bricks or timber, to be purchased, or not, as re-

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80* Italics by the present writer.

quired. As soon as the necessary financial reserve can be created the Guildsman will be on the strength, and will draw Guild pay in sickness or accident, in bad weather or in good, at work, or holiday, or in reserve.

The minimum Guild pay will never be less than the full standard rate as fixed for the industry in the district, but there is no doubt that the Guild will be able to increase the purchasing power of its members' pay by the scientific organisation of production.

ORGANISED PUBLIC SERVICE.

This is the watchword of the Guild. It means that *its surplus earnings will under no circumstances be distributed as dividends.* This is a fundamental rule. Surplus earnings will always be used for the *improvement of the service,* by providing for increased equipment, for reserve, for technical training and research, and for the *elimination of hired capital.*[80*]

OWNERSHIP OF PLANT AND MATERIAL.

It is intended that all plant and material shall be transferred to the properly constituted authority to be set up in connection with the National Guild of Builders.

CRAFTSMANSHIP.

"We shall *do work worthy of the Middle Ages,*"[80*] said one of the Manchester Operatives to whom the Guild Movement owes so much, and he was right. The Guild stands for the revival of the Building Art. It will offer scope to the craftsman such as he has never dared to hope for. It opens out possibilities of service to the skilled administrators and technicians that the old system could not possibly provide. And it gives them all a new status as free men, working in a democratic comradeship of service.

WILL THE GUILD WORK?

"No one who has ever risen to any great height in this world has refused to move until he knows where he is going. Here is the great spiritual weakness of our time; we have lost sight of the venturesomeness of Faith. But somebody has got to break away—somebody has got to break the spell of things as they now are, if we are not to go on in a cycle of increasing tragedies. How can we go without knowing whither? How can we lose without seeing any acquisition?

"If Columbus had reflected thus, he would never have weighed anchor. It is madness to sail the sea without knowing the way; to sail the sea no one has ever traversed before; to make for a country the existence of which is a question.

"*But, with this madness, he discovered a New World.*"[80*]

80* Italics by the present writer.

A PERSONAL IMPRESSION.

I [81] went twice in May, 1921, to Walthamstow to see the actual work of the Guild. On the first occasion (when a Sunday engagement took me thither) one of the Guildsmen, a keen and I am certain reliable informant, showed me round. There were then 300 men employed on the job, which started last Christmas. Now 78 attractive dwelling-houses had their roofs on. We went right through one or two unfinished ones, and the work everywhere looked excellent. My guide claimed that its quality throughout, especially in the case of the roughcasting, was better than that to be found elsewhere in the Kingdom. There was no scamping anywhere. Though an enthusiast for the scheme, he was quite free in criticism. He believed that about one-third of the men had really got the Guild idea—the rest came in merely because of the better conditions offered. Yet there was no watching of the foreman's eye. If men happened to be talking when he came round, they went on talking, but when no eyes were on them they would " slip into the work."

One of the things that rather bothered him was whether the Guild would get enough capital to carry on. It had lost the chance of one or two jobs already for lack of it. But the men had mass meetings continually to decide questions of policy, among these that of setting aside reserves, and a large proportion of them attended. " I wish I had had a camera the other day," he said, " when there was a queue of a hundred men lined up to put money into the Guild." I asked him if he did not think that these mass meetings would gradually inspire with the Guild idea the men who came in merely for the better conditions, and he agreed that that was likely.

It was noticeable, too, that elderly men who came on to the job were not the worse for it. " In ordinary industry," he said, " a young man has to show himself more proficient than an old one in order to keep his job, and the old man is sent to the wall. Under the Guild the old men are given work that they can do without undue strain."

My next visit was on a Thursday, when I could see the Guild as a hive of men at work. The Foreman of Works, Mr. A. G. Tufton, showed me over. At the end of five months they had had, unfortunately, to discharge their first batch of men (I think four in number) for playing cards on the job during working hours. A man can only remain a Guild member if he does his work.

" A foreman can recommend a man for dismissal," said Mr. Tufton, " and I 'drop him.' But he has a right of appeal to the Works Committee, from there to the Local Area Committee, and from there to the Central Board. But no decent workman ever appeals."

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81 The writer of the present book.

"On the whole," he said, "we have a capable crowd. A number of them come from big jobs in the City, where scamping is almost unknown. Last Saturday they put £140 into the Guild —practically all our men will have put in something—and they average about £50 a week." (It should be remembered that by putting into "the Co-op." they would get 5 per cent. interest, so they must believe in the Guild.)

As to output, "we are laying about 500 bricks a day (all through to chimneys) on this job. Outside they are laying about 300. But our bricks are laid four to the foot, and this is rigidly maintained—they are not thrown at the job."

Mr. Tufton showed me the canteen, where the men's meetings take place, the joiners' shops, where were two small oil engines on loan from the municipality, and various rotary saws, etc., which the Guild had bought for itself.

I came away feeling that this five-months-old baby was a youngster of enormous promise. Had I been witnessing the birth of a new hope for this sad and discord-ridden world? It seemed uncommonly like it.

FORMATION OF A NATIONAL BUILDING GUILD.

This account [83] would be incomplete without a reference to the formation of the National Building Guild which was determined upon at a Conference of all Building Guild Committees held in Manchester on July 23rd, 1921.

This organisation will be registered as a new company or society upon a code of rules embodying the results of experience gained both by the Building Guild Limited of Manchester and the Guild of Builders (London) Limited. Its functions will include the arrangement of credit for the financing of Building Guild enterprise all over the country—the development of insurance of every kind, including the provision of funds for the payment of time lost through contingencies over which the workers have no control, and the provision of supplies of every kind of building material both by purchase and by manufacture. The whole plan will resolve itself into a great combine of autonomous units designed to secure for the service of the public the advantages of industrial combination.

Round the central organisation will be grouped about ten Regional Boards, each equipped with the necessary technical services and acting as contractors for the execution of the contracts in their area. They in turn will be assisted by Local or Area Guild Committees, whose main function will be the staffing of the contracts in their area.

Such is the plan designed for self-governing public service in the Building Industry. These three types of Committees—the National Committee for supply, the Regional Boards acting as

83 The next five paragraphs are again by Malcolm Sparkes.

contractors, and the Local Committees who staff the jobs—constitute together a great team whose members instinctively pull together, because each section has its own appointed task, and the risk of overlapping and friction is reduced to negligible proportions.

If it shows that industrial self-government organised for public service is in fact the finest and most scientific form of industrial organisation, then its example cannot fail to be followed by many of our staple industries.

NOTE ON SOVIETS.

Someone may ask, " Why have you given so much space to Guilds, which, except in the Building Trade, exist almost entirely in theory, and said so little about the actual experience of Soviets in Russia? "

First of all, it is very hard to get at the truth about Russia. From what I have heard and read, I believe that industrial self-government has not had a decent chance there. The war brought the country to a state of collapse; the blockade which followed the revolution hit Russia particularly hard, because, owing to her dependence on foreign machinery and locomotives and upon outside technical knowledge and skill, she could not properly reinstate her transport and her industry; the devotion of almost her whole industrial resources to war purposes destroyed the proper balance of trade between town and country, and produced an industrial conscription and an over-centralisation under which the freedom we are seeking in industry had no chance to develop. Beyond that, her people lack the training which would make industrial self-government as we desire to see it immediately feasible.

The Bolsheviks appear to have fought with magnificent but ruthless heroism for many high ideals, but their reliance on force and compulsion, however great the excuses that may be made for it, convinces me at least that salvation for us in the West will not come by copying their methods in these respects. (For further reasons see especially the discussion in Bertrand Russell's book mentioned below.)

The following books are worthy of mention. The list is far from complete and events change very rapidly.

" Six Weeks in Russia in 1919," Arthur Ransome. Allen and Unwin.

" Bolshevism at Work," W. T. Goode. Allen and Unwin.

" Report of the Labour Delegation to Russia."

" The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism," Bertrand Russell.

" The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax " (article in the " Labour Monthly " for July), Lenin. Labour Publishing Co., 6 Tavistock Square, W.C.1.

Articles on Russia in the New York " Nation," March 16, 1921.

CHAPTER V.

Credit Reform.

Aim of the Douglas New Age Scheme—Science and Labour—A Super-machine—Restriction of Output—Productive power but failure to distribute—Private control of Credit—Why a shortage of buying power—The Rapids leading to War—The Working of Communal Credit—Producer and Consumer Control—Some general reflections—Draft of the Scheme.

I NOW propose to be very rash and bold—to rush in, in fact, where bankers fear to tread. "The cheek of the man! he is not even in business!" Well, it is really rather amusing to find how the Douglas Scheme seems to mystify able business and financial men. But as one who has no expert knowledge to estimate its soundness and can approach these high mysteries only as a layman, I still hope that some useful hares may be started by this attempt to pemmicanise the books of Major Douglas and to show what the Douglas New Age Scheme is driving at. I have personally no brief for the scheme; no Interest in it, with a big "I." It may or may not prove to be watertight. But if, as its promoters claim, the fate of humanity largely hangs upon the acceptance or rejection of its main principles, it is at least worth the most serious examination. This chapter is based upon the columns of the "New Age," "Economic Democracy" (Major C. H. Douglas) and "Credit Power and Democracy" (Major Douglas and Mr. A. R. Orage),[1] also lengthy personal interviews with Major Douglas and Mr. Orage, for which I should like again to thank them.

AIM OF THE SCHEME.

The aim of the Douglas New Age scheme is freedom for every individual—such freedom as will enable him, over the widest possible field of life, to make decisions for himself, and also to benefit to the full by the progress of science, invention and machinery. Social organisation should exist for the benefit of individuals, and our co-operation must be based upon the reasoned assent of individuals. Centralised power means servility. Capitalism has had its day, but nationalisation without effective safeguards leaves the individual without any appeal from his only possible employer and so substitutes a worse, because more powerful, tyranny for that which it would destroy.

Douglas points out that the essential function of a good industrial system is to produce the goods and services which are needed

[1] Second Edition in each case. Published by Cecil Palmer, 6/- and 7/6.

by human beings, not to provide profits for capitalists or work for the unemployed. The fact that creative energy can find an outlet in craftsmanship is also a secondary consideration. He challenges the doctrine that "labour (especially present-day labour) creates all wealth," and that therefore the producer alone has a right to it. Mr. Arthur Kitson remarks that "about 95 per cent. of all production is the result of tools and processes which form the cultural inheritance of the community—not as workers, but *as a community*. Every person born into such a community should by right of birth be entitled to share in this great legacy."[2]

The late Mr. H. L. Gantt, the well-known American industrial engineer and efficiency expert, stated that in 1919 industrial efficiency in U.S.A. was about 5 per cent. of what it might be. The main reason for this was the fact that it did not pay those in control of industry to make it higher. With proper organisation, therefore, perhaps an average of half an hour's work a day by all would supply what is now produced.

SCIENCE SEEKS TO SUPPLANT WORK, NOT SUPPLY IT.

Science, invention and machinery are constantly supplanting, and will increasingly supplant, human labour. To make clear whither this tendency is leading us, carry it in imagination to its logical, if fanciful, conclusion, and suppose a machine to be invented which will do the whole work of the world merely by the pressing of a button. The owner of the machine decides to press it. What is now the situation?

In the first place, all the necessary work of the world is done by the machine. The goods are there, the people who need them are there. But if their power to buy depends on payment for work done, they will starve, because, as there is no use for their work, they will get no pay.

As the April number of "Capel Court" has it,[3] "Even if science were to succeed in tapping the source itself of universal energy, and to draw power at will from an illimitable reservoir, the only result under the present system would be universal unemployment."

Payment by work done would therefore obviously collapse. Meanwhile Mr. Dives, who owns the machine, finds his products utterly worthless in the market. There is, of course, no market, *because no one has any purchasing power*. Mr. Dives can supply his own needs from his own goods, but all the Lazaruses will be dependent upon the crumbs that fall from his table. If he chooses not to scatter these, the people will all starve, yet it is

[2] *Times* Trade Supplement, April 2nd, quoted *New Age*, April 14th, 1921. I prefer to put forward other grounds for this assumption than those given by Douglas, but am here endeavouring to expound the ideas behind his scheme.

[3] Quoted *New Age*, July 7th, 1921.

the labour, skill and inventiveness of generations in the past that have conspired to produce Mr. Dives' machine. Without these it could not have come into being, without this common inheritance the goods it produces would not exist, nor without the purchasing community could they have any value. The power to purchase should be issued to all members of the community, because as joint heirs of the transmitted knowledge and skill of past generations, they are entitled to a share in what industry produces. Their share should be sufficient to enable them to obtain for their use as much of those products as they want up to the limit of the productive capacity of the industrial system.

MR. DIVES' ADVANTAGE IN REDUCING OUTPUT.

Suppose now that the machine does half the work of the world instead of all of it. The public then have a moderate amount of purchasing power, but we may assume that they cannot get on without the goods the machine produces. Mr. Dives will find it commercially profitable to himself to sell a little of his product at a high price rather than a great deal at a low price. To restrict supplies and "charge what the market will bear" is indeed entirely immoral and anti-social, but so long as the public tolerates Mr. Dives' monopoly, such action is financially profitable to *him*. At the same time this restricts the purchasing power of the community because people get less goods for more money. In the extreme case above mentioned, as we have seen, they could buy neither the goods nor the machine.

The following extracts throw some light on this restriction of supplies as it is carried on to-day :—

LIGHT CASTINGS.

(a) *Times,* quoted *New Age,* July 14, 1921 : "The National Light Castings Association is a trade combination which covers 95 per cent. of the British output of light castings, while the Builders' Merchants' Central Committee represents almost the whole distributing trade." (The former fix minimum prices for the country, the latter for retail trade.) "By a pooling arrangement the association penalises any member who *increases* his output, and rewards any member who *reduces* his output relative to the rest. The Committee [on Prices & Trusts] regard this arrangement as contrary to the public interest."

TEA.

(b) *Times*, October 2, 1921. From report of the 11th Ordinary General Meeting of the "Rubber Plantations Investment Trust Ltd." (also owns tea plantations).

Mr. H. Welch presiding said :—

"It will be apparent to all that as tea generally is being marketed below the cost of production, and the loss involved on the

lower grades is exceedingly heavy, it is necessary that production should be generally curtailed until such time as the abnormal stocks existing have been reduced, and the prices brought up to a level which will at least cover the cost of production—(hear, hear)—while the efforts to secure concerted action to curtail production have not yet matured, fortunately there is now a prospect that they will succeed. . . . Producers will appreciate that by keeping down stocks, the restrictions will tend to maintain the price of tea for two or three years to come at a reasonably remunerative price. I sincerely hope that, as a result of the efforts which are being made, successful concerted action to restrict production will promptly be taken in India, Ceylon, and the Dutch East Indies, and that such restriction will be continued until stocks and prices justify its termination.

" . . . The Rubber Growers' Association has recently sent to its members a circular—to which wide publicity has been given—asking them to agree to restrict their outputs to the extent of 25 per cent. . . . The kernel of the whole matter is this, that stocks of rubber have reached an abnormal height, and for some time past the price has been steadily falling."

(America has one automobile to every 14 of her population, while the proportion for the United Kingdom is estimated to be one to every 100.)

(c) *Times,* September 29, 1920.

The Indian Tea Association (London).

At a meeting of the general committee (of the above) held on Monday, . . . the following resolution was carried unanimously:

" That the committee recommend that the crop for this year be restricted to not more than 90 per cent. of the average crops produced in the years 1915 to 1919, or, as an alternative, that proprietors should cease plucking on November 15, 1920. Further, that the crop for 1921 be limited to not more than 80 per cent. of the average crops produced in the five years 1915 to 1919 inclusive, provided that the proposed reduction for the year 1921 is supported by at least 85 per cent. of the industry. . . . The Ceylon Association in London has passed a resolution recommending all proprietors to take steps at once to reduce their production, and are ascertaining what support is likely to be given to a reduction of 20 per cent. in the Ceylon crop of 1921."

" Restriction of Egypt's Cotton Area."

(d) *Times* Correspondent, Cairo, December 7, 1920.

" The Provincial Councils having unanimously decided in favour of the principle of restricting the area to be planted with cotton in 1921, Sultan Fuad to-day signed a Decree limiting the area to one-third of every holding, and prohibiting the cultivation of cotton in the basins of Upper Egypt except where irrigated by Nile Water."

"Too Many Herrings."

(e) *Morning Post,* November 6, 1920.

"In order to enable the market to get clear of the enormous glut of herring (the value of the season's catch already exceeds £1,000,000) the Yarmouth boats have been prohibited going to sea until to-morrow, and during next week the boats will not be allowed to put to sea after noon."

(f) *Times.* (About November, 1920.)

Mr. Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland, speaking to a deputation of owners, curers and fishermen, said that,

"Only one-third of the Scottish cure had been disposed of, and 260,000 barrels, or, including England, 800,000 barrels, bought by the Government remained unsold. . . . He suggested that a committee representing the various interests might consider future policy, which might take one of two forms—(1) a reduction of the numbers of men and boats and nets employed; and (2) the reduction of the costs of production, so as to enable the industry to compete with Norway and Holland."

Coffee.

(g) Sir Leo Chiozza Money in the *Labour Leader.*

"In Brazil when plenty of coffee is produced, they gravely burn the supplies to keep up the price, and they do it on an organised plan with Government sanction. Similarly, when there is a great plenty in Britain of fish or of plums, the lavish output is used for manure or allowed to rot. . . . We are deliberately refusing to sell herrings to Russia." (About November 10, 1920.)

"Rubber Output Restriction."

(h) *Times*, September 25, 1920.

The Rubber Growers' Association have issued a circular to all producers of plantation rubber suggesting that owing to the rapid decline in the price of rubber to a figure which is very near the average cost of production, estates now tapping daily should bring about a reduction of output by resting one quarter of their tapping areas, or, preferably, adopting alternative day tapping without increasing the length and number of cuts, over one-half of their tapping area. The idea is to reduce the output by 25 per cent. and that the restriction shall remain in force until the economic position justifies its modification.

The circular issued to producers says: "In consequence of the financial stringency, which has become more acute with each succeeding week, the rubber industry has been faced with the unusual phenomenon of large resales of raw rubber by U.S.A. manufacturers. Their resources are otherwise engaged in completion of extensions to their plant and the carrying of stocks of finished goods, the demand for which *has been* checked by the prevailing uncertainty.

". . . If the production of plantation rubber were in a few hands, it would be a simple matter to adjust supplies to suit any alteration in the demand. The difficulty lies in the fact that there are so many separate proprietors controlling the three million acres that are under cultivation.

"The Council . . . unhesitatingly recommend that a genuine reduction of 25 per cent. of the estimated normal monthly output should forthwith be brought about by each estate, by modification of its existing tapping system."

(i) *Times, "City Notes,"* September 25, 1920.

"While raw rubber costs less than before the war, manufactured rubber articles, such as tires, have soared in price to extraordinary heights. Hence the falling off in the demand for finished goods, and the consequent excess of the supply of raw rubber over the world's consuming capacity. . . .

"The Association, which represents one-third of the total area under rubber cultivation, recommends its members to effect a reduction of 25 per cent. of the estimated normal output until the demand for rubber increases. . . .

VIEWS OF THE MARKET.

"In Mincing Lane and Stock Exchange circles the fact that proposals to limit output have reached the stage of a concrete scheme have been cordially welcomed, and market feelings were reflected yesterday in a rise in the price of raw rubber to 1s. 7½d. per lb., and a good recovery in the shares of a number of leading producing companies. The rubber trade is in the rather unique position that while the output of plantation rubber is split up among some 400 to 500 producers, the control of the market is in the hands of four or five American houses, whose power to influence prices whenever there is a surplus of unconsumed supplies may be exercised in a manner not conducive to the interests of the growers. . . .

"According to an estimate that was put forward yesterday by Mr. H. Eric Miller, a director of Harrisons and Crosfield and chairman of the Output Control Committee, the plantation crop for 1921 with normal tapping may be put at 370,000 tons, and if the producers get the support that is expected this total should be cut down to 300,000 tons, that is, if it be found necessary to continue the limitation policy throughout the whole of next year.

INDUSTRY CAN PRODUCE BUT FAILS TO DISTRIBUTE THE MEANS OF LIFE.

The above quotations show clearly that there is often a widespread restriction of output by producers because consumers lack the means to buy. But to return to our illustration of the super-machine, whose output, as we saw, was almost unsaleable for

this very cause. One factor to be noticed in the situation described is that almost the whole of the world's resources has been diverted to goods of potential value only—plant and unsaleable stock. The market for ultimate products (goods that are ready for personal consumption by individuals) has disappeared. The world has so concentrated its attention upon the creation of machinery that it ceases to distribute the goods which the individual requires in order to live.

A PRESENT TO MR. DIVES.

In the possession of the machine Mr. Dives has a most valuable asset. He may be an able organiser, and he is as much entitled to a living as anybody else, but why should the public, by paying in prices of goods the full cost of production of these, including cost of the machine and its replacement when worn out by one still more valuable, make a handsome present of it to Mr. Dives, and leave it in his undisputed possession? "But," it will be said, "Mr. Dives provided the machine in the first place." Waiving the point that he could not possibly have done this by his unaided labour, and admitting that he *bought* it, we are still faced by the fact that the public pay for the machine, by the time that it is worn out, in price of goods. "Even so," replies the critic, "they get their goods cheaper than if the machine were not there." Possibly they do, though the forcing up of prices by monopolies may entirely neutralise the saving due to the application of machinery. It must, however, be repeated that in a continuing business the public buy Mr. Dives all his new machines.

In the same way the price of apples this year includes the cost of laying out new orchards which will produce apples next year. The public pays for the orchards. The orchards remain in private ownership. Once more, the machine (or orchard) would be of no value to Mr. Dives unless the public gave it value by buying the goods it produced. The Douglas New Age Scheme therefore proposes a method by which the public pays the true rather than the financial cost of goods. The true value is the value consumed in the process of production, but not the value of the appreciation of plant.

The above illustration of the omni-competent machine, despite its over-completeness, may serve to illustrate some of the points Major Douglas is driving at.

In the first place, he says, it is flying in the face of progress to insist on work as the aim of industry, when science is striving her utmost to *save* work. The factor of human labour in the production of goods is becoming less and less important daily as machinery takes its place. Secondly, the value of goods depends largely upon people's power to buy them. (The ports

of London and Rotterdam have recently been blocked with unsaleable textiles, whereas I have myself seen the paper clothes and bandages used for wrapping children and bandaging the sick in the hospitals of Buda-Pest.) " Half Lancashire is walking about the streets unemployed; half Bristol is unemployed. Lancashire ment want boots, Bristol men want shirts. Lancashire men make shirts; Bristol men can make boots. Yet these armies of men are powerless, workless, impoverished, each needing what the other can make, and all unemployed."[4]

Thirdly, the tendency of present-day industry is for plant to increase in an ever-increasing ratio to finished goods. The working and spending community, being short of purchasing power, are only able to buy a part of what is produced. Therefore the home market is glutted, while people who need the products cannot buy. For the manufacturer, as we have seen, it is profitable to issue goods in short supply and thus keep up prices, which again diminishes the purchasing power of the public.

PRIVATE CONTROL OF CREDIT.

But we have not yet introduced the chief villain of the piece—the control by private individuals of the flow of the life-blood of industry. Who does, in fact, control production? The worker? He is told to mind his own job if he interferes. The chairman of directors? His duty is understood to be to make the best dividend he can for the shareholders. The shareholders? They are scattered over the earth, and as a rule have no detailed knowledge of the business. " A shareholder in a trust-capitalistic manufacturing enterprise has no power to change the fundamental policy of the concern, *which is to pay its way as a means to the end of maintaining and increasing its financial credit with the banks.*"

Fair dealing, high quality of output, are all at the mercy of the money power, if the business is to survive. " The last word on *policy* is with finance, not with administration, . . . and to democratise the *policy* of production we have to democratise the control of credit."[5]

The power of those who issue credit is remarkable. It has long been recognised that the community alone has the right to mint money. Heavy penalties are enforced against the " criminal " who forges coin of the realm. Yet the creation of financial credit, which has essentially the same effect, is a highly respectable occupation. A manufacturer receives a large order, and wants to buy raw materials whose value is greater than that of his credit-balance at the bank. He applies to his banker for an

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[4] Canon Hewlett Johnson in *The Challenge*, quoted *New Age*, June 23rd, 1921.
[5] " Credit Power," p 6.

overdraft, offering to deposit the title deeds of his factory as security. The banker agrees on terms, and the manufacturer gets his overdraft. "*This overdraft,*" says Douglas, "*is just as absolutely new money as if the banker had coined it or printed bank notes for the amount.*"[6]

It increases the money in circulation compared with goods in the market available for personal consumption and so dilutes the currency. (An extraordinary example of dilution is the treatment of Government overdrafts ("Ways and Means") on the Banks as cash, and the issuing of extensive credits upon them when treated as cash.)

It may be objected that there is a difference in that the overdraft is covered (to the bank, not the public) by securities, and the forged money is not. But the essential similarity is that the amount of purchasing power placed upon the market is in both cases increased for the time being for the benefit of private undertaking against no actual finished goods put upon the market, and that under the present system this is bound to raise prices.

Under the Douglas scheme credit is also issued in advance of goods. But here prices are to be regulated not by the ratio of money to goods in the market, but by the ratio of production to consumption. Thus it is claimed that the extra issue would not cause such inflation of currency as would lower the purchasing power already held, but rather an increase to individuals of power to make effective their demand for the goods they require. Unregulated prices might for the time being go up, but that tendency would work strongly in the direction of further regulation.

This control of credit leaves to the bankers the decision as to whether the production for which credit is required is desirable production.

Mr. Swan asked in the House of Commons "whether it was a fact that our financiers had refused to issue credit to the Queensland (Labour) Government until guarantee had been given that [it] would amend its policy in accordance with the wishes of the London Bankers." Colonel Amery replied that "he did not think the matter had gone so far as that," though the Banks had protested "against a recent Land Act Amendment Act." Who then controls Government policy in Queensland—the electorate or a group of anonymous financiers? "It can be understood now with what confidence Mr. Pierpont Morgan could declare that he did not mind what Government was in power, provided he retained control of the national credit. Who controls world-credit, controls the world."[8] This shows that schemes of nationalisation and even of guildisation are of very limited use until the people secure the financial control for themselves. The capital levy is open to the same objection.

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6 "Credit Power," p. 31

8 *New Age*, August 5th, 1920

During the recent metallurgical strike in Italy "the workers had seized the factories, and found that they held but the lifeless skeleton of industry, since it was in their masters' power to withhold the vivifying stream of credit."[9]

The Builders' Guilds are hampered by the same difficulty. Retailers also have been forced to cut prices, to their ruin and bankruptcy, because they cannot get credit to "carry on."[10]

"A deputation from the Drapers' Chamber of Trade waited on the British Bankers' Association last week to beg the favour of 'more generous credits.' The capital required to conduct business to-day, they said, was three times what it was in 1914." The market demand being for the present exhausted would not the Banks give them credit to carry their stocks until it revived? The bankers refused on the ground of extravagance of Government expenditure.

"The actual difficulty is one of the moment. The Banks are pressing the manufacturers, the manufacturers are pressing the merchants, and the merchants are pressing the retailers. . . . The retailers cannot dispose of their stock and set the whole current of industry in motion, because the consumer is without effective demand;" the reason for which is "precisely the power of the Banks to raise Credit for Production without a simultaneous and proportionate issue of Credit for Consumption. The problem is too simple for words, yet the whole world is in chaos because it is not understood. Finance has hitherto confined itself to production; and in the neglect of distributing the means of consumption it has brought about a production that cannot be consumed."[11]

WHY THE PUBLIC LACK BUYING POWER.

But let us examine more closely why the public is thus kept short of buying power. On every article manufactured, says Douglas, the amount of wages and salaries plus dividends distributed to individuals is *less* than the cost of the article as cost is reckoned to-day. But the whole of this cost is included in price.[12]

If these two statements are correct it is daylight clear that the public *cannot* buy the goods that are turned out, and hence that the whole machinery of trade must be constantly getting out of gear. As it is an axiom of modern business that price must cover all costs of production, the second statement will not be disputed. The first requires careful examination.

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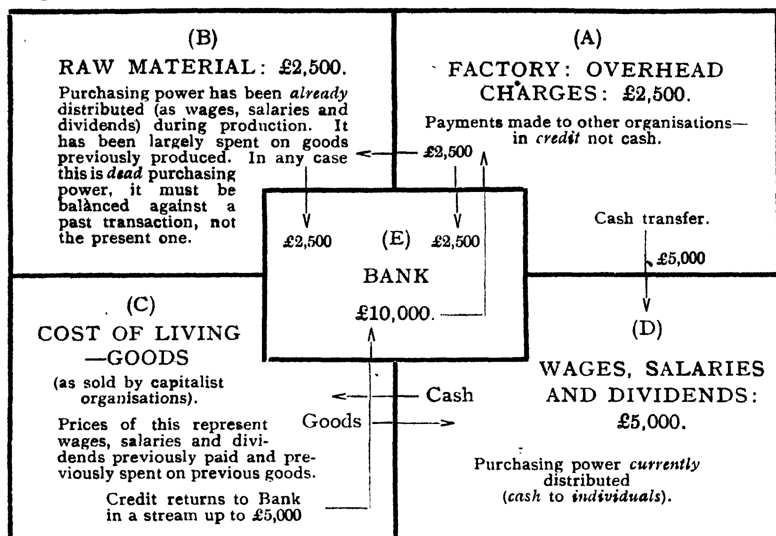
9 *New Age*, March 3rd, 1921.

10 *New Age*, January 6th, 1921.

11 *New Age*, November 25th, 1920.

12 *The core of this problem is the fact that money, which is distributed in respect of articles which do not come into the buying range of the persons to whom money is distributed, is not real purchasing power*—it is simply inflation of the currency so far as those persons are concerned.—"Economic Democracy," 2nd edition, p. 68.

The following diagram (modelled on an article in the *New Age*, April 14, 1921), if used with the explanation that follows it, may help to make matters clear.



Factory A procures a loan-credit from the Bank E to the amount of £10,000 (payable by cheque (credit) or cash). Factory A then purchases raw material from B and pays by cheque £2,500 (credit-transfer). Factory A pays by cheque another £2,500 on account of "overhead costs" (also credit-transfers in bulk). Probably all the above £5,000 is retained for capital and not distributed as purchasing power to individuals at all. Finally Factory A employs workers and makes a profit. Payments to individuals equals £5,000 (D). This distributed money cannot as yet be spent on the present product of the factory, as the latter is not yet on the market—it must be spent mainly on goods already on sale (C). The bank has issued £10,000, and gets back twice £2,500 at once, plus a continuous flow of cash from the sellers of the goods in (C).

The time factor is regarded by the promoters of the scheme as vital. Suppose the product requires only a week to complete. The costs incurred are as before—£2,500 to various capitalists on account of overhead charges—£2,500 to the capitalist owners of raw materials, and £5,000 in wages, salaries and dividends. But only the last item of £5,000 is *distributed to individuals* at the end of the week against the total cost of product, which is £10,000. Hence wages, salaries plus dividends can only buy *half* the product, the other half being purchaseable only by capitalist organisations already in possession

of the raw material and overhead charges. Thus cash commands half the product, credit the other half.

Now suppose the product takes two weeks to complete. The capital payments are as before (£2,500 plus £2,500). Factory A pays out, in the first week, wages, salaries and dividends to the amount of £2,500. Of this amount, however, a considerable fraction is spent in the cost of living by those who receive the wages, etc. At the end of the second week, on payment of the second £2,500 (assuming that the first week's cost of living has been met by wages previously earned) they have no longer £5,000 with which to buy even half the product of the factory during the two weeks, but only £5,000 *minus* a week's cost of living. Part of the distributed purchasing power (D) has thus been already spent and returned to credit *via* the capitalist proprietors of the cost-of-living goods. Assume that the cost of living is four-fifths of income (*i.e.*, £2,000), the amount distributed and available for purchase of the product when put on the market at £10,000 is only £2,500 plus £500 (the latter the remains of savings on the first week's wages)—in all three-tenths of £10,000. Seven-tenths of the *control* of the product is concentrated in the hands of capitalists, and only three-tenths is distributed among individual consumers. If the time required for manufacture is longer the purchasing power distributed is proportionately less. It may be said that what is paid for "cost of living"—food, clothes, etc.—cannot be ignored in the distribution of purchasing power, and that the purchasing power which is distributed at a time when no price is charged for the final product must be balanced against a price which exceeds the purchasing power distributed at the time it is paid. Further, that the advantage of time is here with the purchasing power, not the price. This is true, but the purchasing power of the consumers is scattered over a considerable period of time, and returned at once to the Banks and other sources of credit. If it costs £10,000 to build a ship in a year and £5,000 is spent on wages, salaries plus dividends, that £5,000 will be reduced by the cost of living of the workers during that year. Although the whole £10,000 is distributed somewhere, part of it remains as capital: the men who worked with hand or brain to produce that ship plus those who drew dividends on its production never have at any time enough money in their possession distributed on account of that ship to buy that ship. The important factor is the time factor and the rate of flow of purchasing power to the consumer. It is true that during a good deal of the time purchasing power is being distributed against no sale price for the ship. But in any case, over the whole period, the purchasing power so distributed can normally never equal the price of the ship. The money issued for the building of the ship after being spent on other goods

already in existence, comes back to the Bank and is used as the basis of further credits issued by the Bank for further production. There is thus an issue of a proportionately ever-increasing credit. One of the most important points to notice here is that the purchasing power of individuals is continually scattered, while the credit-control of the Banks is concentrated.

THE RAPIDS LEADING TO WAR.

"That 'money' is 'in the country' to the amount of the price fixed for the product we do not deny," but money in the form of credit is under the exclusive control of the financial system. Only in the form of cash (predominately at least) is it under the control of individual consumers. The general shortage of buying power thus occasioned produces a situation, the gravity of which, though very little realised, can hardly be exaggerated. As manufacturers fail to dispose of their products at home, there is an increasing pressure to find markets abroad. But however much the market is extended the same phenomenon occurs—the people as consumers of final products have not the purchasing power to buy the whole output of industry. Hence a constantly increasing competition by manufacturers to capture an increasingly "saturated" market. Combined with this is a titanic struggle for the monopoly of raw materials carried on by interests with great power to put pressure on Governments for the securing of these monopolies. This fosters a fierce international rivalry, whose logical end is WAR.

The following extracts, the length of which is justified by their importance, will illustrate what I mean. (Italics are my own.) :—

(a) *New Age,* May 27, 1920, quoting Mr. Farrell, President of the United States Steel Corporation :—

"Foreign imports [are] coming into a market with power to produce a good surplus above its needs. What is to be done with that surplus? There are but two alternatives. Either we shall find markets for it abroad, even if we must extend our credits abroad to pay for it, or we shall cease to produce it. . . . *The answer to our problem is foreign markets.*"

(b) [Japan differs from U.S.A. in being much more dependent upon imported food, and her plight is not entirely caused by the evils of our credit system. If, however, as Mr. Pell maintains,[18] fertility declines as wealth increases, a system which aids the increase of wealth will help to relieve the problem of over-population. In any case, the way in which Japan's situation contributes to the general instability is shown by the following paragraph.]

Mr. J. O. P. Bland writing on Japan (*Times,* in series on "Far Eastern Problems," quoted *New Age,* June 3, 1920), says: "For a nation to claim the right to expansion in a spirit of wanton

18 "The Law of Births and Deaths" (Fisher Unwin, 12/6), reviewed *New Age,* July 28th, 1921.

aggression is one thing; to do so under the compulsion of a fierce struggle for bare existence, for food and elbow room, is merely to obey the first law of nature. . . . A native writer put the problem succinctly when he said: 'the Japanese people must either die a saintly death in righteous starvation or expand into their neighbour's backyard—and Japan is not that much of a saint.' Japan's problem . . . is merely a question of providing food for a population which already exceeds the limit which the country's soil can support, and which is debarred by our exclusion Acts from seeking relief in the least populated regions of the American and Australian continents. . . . So long as Japan can purchase the surplus food she needs by means of a favourable balance of trade, the problem may be faced. But Japanese statesmen . . . realise that every year's addition to the population means a corresponding increase of imported food, which in turn necessitates an increased sale of Japanese manufactured goods in markets where keen competition is inevitable."

(c) *New Age,* October 14, 1920, quoting *Times* Washington Correspondent.

"The fostering of foreign trade is going to be one of the preoccupations of whichever party wins. . . . 'A vigorous fight for world-trade is now starting, and America cannot afford' (says the *New York Herald*) 'to go into it with gloves on.' Mr. Harding says that 'America is influenced by no hostility to the nations with which she has got to compete . . . her only complaint is that her nationals are not being properly helped in the scramble for post-war trade. . . . There must be more co-operation between Washington and American business.'"

The *New Age* comments:—

"If the world market is not big enough for two great producing nations (and it is not!) and, at the same time home employment depends on exports (as it does!) the consequence of defeat . . . . is widespread unemployment and industrial unrest. America's resolution to foster foreign trade is . . . a necessity of America's social policy, as it is a necessity of ours. . . . We are concerned with the problem of arithmetical probability, which seems to point to war as a comparatively early solution in the absence of better reasons than pacifists have yet advanced against it."

(d) *New Age,* November 25, 1920.

"Given the situation that millions of men are unemployed in America, and that the only presumed means of setting them to work is the development of export, we put it to our readers how long the situation will take to eventuate in war. *As a means of 'making work' there is nothing like modern warfare.* It employs its millions and empties its workhouses and asylums. There were no unemployed processions during the recent war, and there will be none during the next.

(e) *New Age,* December 16, 1920. "War within five years

is our approximate estimate of the time" (granted that the present financial system is allowed to continue).

(f) *New Age,* May 27, 1920. "The State Department charged with the duty of examining the oil supplies of U.S.A. has reported to the Senate that the policy of Great Britain is designed to 'bring about the exclusion of aliens from the control of the petroleum supplies of the Empire and to secure some control over oil in foreign countries.' Already American oil interests are excluded from a considerable number of foreign oil areas, and in the race for new sources of supply 'Great Britain has far outstripped America during the last few years.'"

Oil is a condition of industrial future. "Six million internal combustion engines are already dependent upon oil in America, and we are told that in ten years' time, at the present rate of extension, the number will be more than fifteen million. Where is the oil to come from, since of the American-controlled resources, 40 per cent. are already exhausted?" Our own hurried resort to oil fuel will not relieve matters.

(g) The *New Age*, June 2, 1921, speaking of the Admiralty's decision to build ships to burn oil fuel only, says :—

"The prospect thus opened up must give rise to the gravest apprehensions. . . . In view of the . . . engagement of over a million men in the specialised industry of coal-getting, the foreign origin of 99 per cent. of our possible oil supplies, the consequent absolute certainty of intensive international competition in regard to the new source of power, and the notorious existence of cosmopolitan oil rings magnificently indifferent to any consideration but profit and power, the problems created by the Admiralty's decision can truly be said to be little less than terrifying. . . . We are to adventure the fortunes of the nation, the Commonwealth, and the world, on a material of which not only have we not a monopoly, but of which we can obtain control only at the risk of encountering the fiercest opposition of our most powerful industrial world-competitor."

POISON GAS.

(h) *Times*, New York Correspondent (quoted *New Age,* November 25, 1920).

"The American Government has no intention of abolishing the use of poison-gas in its army. If the U.S. is involved in another war, every one of its soldiers will carry a package of poison-gas as part of his equipment."

(i) *New Age,* January 13, 1921.

"At the recent meeting of Vickers, Mr. Douglas Vickers announced that not only had Japanese orders cleared the situation as regards the armour plate and gun plant, which otherwise would have been idle, but "*the Government had indicated to the directors their wish that the Company should retain the plant for eventual use.*"

(k) *New Age*, January 20, 1921. "In America . . . so open has naval rivalry become that an association has been formed in Massachusetts to oppose 'the cardinal object of the great revolutionary movement—the promotion of a breach and a possible war between Britain and America.'"

(l) *The Times*, February 5, 1921 (quoted *New Age* February 10, and quoting the New York *Metropolitan Magazine*).

"Roughly speaking, naval competition added to international misunderstanding means war. . . . We are involved in the preliminary stages that lead to war. . . . If war ever takes place between the United States and the British Empire or between ourselves and Japan the crime will be at the door of blind leaders who imagine that wars can be prevented simply by saying they can't happen. . . . The menace of war is on us now, at this very moment of writing. Another and more awful war is not unthinkable, but practically inevitable unless real steps are taken to prevent it."

(m) *New Age*, March 3, 1921. "Once again . . . let us ask what is to be done by the world with the myriads of ships, factories, mechanical appliances and all the other thousand and one instruments of production that are now, so to say, eating their heads off with overhead charges? Where are their customers to come from and in sufficient numbers and with sufficient purchasing power to keep them busy? The only effective demand for 'output' from all this capital 'development' is chiefly measurable by the amount of wages and salaries distributed; and since, in the prevalent state of unemployment, this amount is declining, the chances of a revival of trade by ordinary means are declining in the same ratio. We affirm in fact that war and war only is likely to produce a revival of trade, and the chances of war within months rather than years are now greater than ever."

Now whether we believe in the Douglas New Age Scheme or not, we shirk this challenge at our peril. If theirs is not the solution, it is our duty to do all in our power to find another. Meanwhile, however, let us follow them further.

DISTRIBUTION DEPENDENT ON PRODUCTION.

There are other factors also tending to depress purchasing power. We have an almost incurable habit of defining wealth in terms of money, whereas the capitalisation of waste is not wealth at all but loss. Shells long blown into space, and stores long ago rotted or stolen are credited to holders of War-loan as wealth (which simply means they have a claim on *future* production in perpetuity for supplying these things in the past). But since the existing system distributes to the vast majority of the public only through the agency of production, no work means no wages. Consequently there is a *clear incentive "to produce use-*

less or superfluous articles in order that useful articles already existing may be distributed."[14] This vast waste can be seen in the shop windows and advertisements, especially luxury advertisements, of any town in which we happen to live. It is evidence of widespread pressure to "make work" that is not needed. On the other hand the trusts and Banks seek through the agency of prices to re-absorb the major part of the credit distributed as wages. To keep up prices the supply of finished goods is restricted, and as the market can only absorb a limited quantity, productive energy is directed more and more to capital goods and goods for export, a result which, as we have seen, is rocking the world to its foundations. The resulting high prices drain away our power to purchase the things we really want. "The plain trend of evolution . . . is to subordinate material to mental and psychological necessity, . . . [whereas] the impulse behind unbridled industrialism is not progressive but reactionary."[15] "Wealth" is not necessarily well-being. Moreover, the lack of freedom for the rank and file in present-day industry gives environment the maximum of control over individuality. This must be reversed if human nature is to have its chance. It will get its chance, says Douglas, when the people finance themselves rather than allow a small and irresponsible group to retain vast power over the sources of life.

A METHOD OF COMMUNAL CREDIT.

Credit is created by the community, and should be communal property. The State should therefore lend, not borrow, and the method might be somewhat as follows:—

Imagine three firms engaged in the boot trade, and call them Messrs. Tanner, Bootmaker and Merchant.

1. Messrs. Tanner buy raw hides value £100. These require "semi-manufactures"[16] to make them into leather, value £500, and wages and salaries for work done to the value of £500. Messrs. Tanner sends the invoices for hides and semi-manufactures to the Clearing House (the latter representing community finance) and receives cheque for £600.

The Clearing House writes *up* its capital a/c by £600. Messrs. Tanner's out-of-pocket cost is therefore £500. Allow them 10 per cent. profit on this (£50). Then cost plus profit = £550, and there is owing to the Clearing House £600.

2. Messrs. Bootmaker buy the finished hides from Messrs. Tanner, value £1,150, and other supplies from elsewhere amounting to £500. They send invoices to the Clearing House for £1,650, and receive cheque from the Clearing House for same. Messrs. Tanner on receiving from Messrs. Bootmaker £1,150

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14 "Economic Democracy," pp. 75, 76, cp. "Credit Power," p 92.

15 "Economic Democracy," p 69.

16 That is, goods, plant, machinery, chemicals, etc , used for production, not for final consumption.

retain £550 and pay all back by returning to the Clearing House £600. Messrs. Bootmaker in making the leather into boots, spend in wages and salaries £500 and make a profit of 10 per cent. on this (£50).

3. Messrs. Merchant order boots from Messrs. Bootmaker, value £2,200. Their out-of-pocket cost or commission is £300. Messrs. Bootmaker pay their debt of £1,650 to the Clearing House out of the £2,200 paid by Messrs. Merchant, and retain the remainder.

This may be made somewhat clearer by the following statements of account :—

1. Messrs. Tanner.

	£		£
To Clearing House ...	600	By Raw hides	100
,, Messrs. Bootmaker ...	1150	,, Semi-manufactures ...	500
		,, Wages & Salaries ...	500
		,, Clearing House ...	600
		,, Profit	50
	£1750		£1750

2. Messrs. Bootmaker.

	£		£
To Clearing House ...	1650	By Messrs. Tanner, leather	1150
,, Messrs. Merchant ..	2200	,, Supplies (semi-manufactures)	500
		,, Wages & Salaries ...	500
		,, Profit	50
		,, Clearing House ...	1650
	£3850		£3850

3. Communal Clearing House.

	£		£
To Messrs. Tanner ...	600	By Messrs. Tanner ...	600
,, Messrs. Bootmaker ...	1650	,, Messrs. Bootmaker . .	1650
	£2250		£2250

Notice that purchasing power has been released externally by wages, salaries and dividends (distributed profits), but no goods have yet been released to the ultimate consumer. Each firm has made a profit, and sold its semi-manufactures to the next firm at cost price plus this profit.

The wages and salaries paid will, however, be of direct importance in providing a market for the finished boots.

Douglas now introduces a "retail clearing invoice," a document which the Clearing House will accept as evidence that the boots have been transferred to an actual consumer.

What should the price be? Douglas maintains that the ratio of price to cost should be the same as that of total national consumption (including capital depreciation and exports) to total national production (including capital appreciation and imports) during a given time.

For instance, suppose that in a given credit area it costs £2,500 a month to deliver the boots the people want, and will actually buy (as accurately as can be estimated). This means that services have been paid for to the token value of £2,500 during, it may be, half a year or a year, but the *product* of those services will all be sold in one month. Let us assume, however, that only 40 per cent. of the total production of the community is consumed that month. This does *not* mean that for every 100 boots, apples and motor-cars produced only forty are sold, but it means that at the end of the month the capacity of industry in the country to deliver the goods that the public want, and can buy, is enhanced 60 per cent. in proportion to consumption and depreciation. Then the selling-price of a pair of boots would be equal to 40 per cent. of £2,500 (=£1,000) divided by the total number of boots *distributed* (not produced), *i.e.,* would be two-fifths of commercial cost (if there were 2,500 boots costing £1 a pair they would sell at two-fifths of £1 =8s. a pair).

Messrs. Merchant then, in respect of retail invoices to the value of £2,500 would be credited with 60 per cent. of £2,500 (£1,500) against the cheque sent them by the Clearing House (out of which they paid Messrs. Bootmaker). They would recover the 40 per cent. from the purchasers of boots, and reimburse the Clearing House, who after balancing Messrs. Merchant's account would write *down* their credits by £1,500.

MESSRS. MERCHANT'S ACCOUNT would then stand as follows :—

	£		£
To Clearing House ...	2500	By Messrs. Bootmaker ...	2200
,, ,, ,, ...	1500	,, Commission ...	300
,, Sales	1000	,, Clearing House ...	2500
	£5000		£5000

CLEARING HOUSE ACCOUNT.

	£		£
To Messrs. Merchant ...	2500	By Messrs. Merchant ...	2500
,, Credit written down...	1500	,, ,, ,, ...	1500
	£4000		£4000

COMMUNAL CREDIT ACCOUNT.

	£		£
To Clearing House	... 1500	By Credit written up	... 1500
	£1500		£1500

But has not the Clearing House lent £1,500 and got nothing back? It is all very well to write *up* the National Credit Account, but how does that keep the Clearing House in funds? As long as national credit appreciation exceeds national depreciation, the Clearing House will go on paying out money on every such loan transaction.

But whatever the relationship will be between the Clearing House and the Government or Credit Issue Office, the scheme states that "the Government shall reimburse to the Colliery owners the difference between their total Cost incurred and their total Price received, by means of Treasury Notes, such notes being debited, as now, to the National Credit Account."[19] The Clearing House will remain solvent because it has behind it the Treasury, which is the central repository of the productive assets of the country, and as these appreciate in value currency will be issued against them according to the ratio.

The power to produce what people *want* is, as Douglas insists, the only kind of productive power worth having. And as *unwanted* productive power will not be mobilised, any excess of production over consumption of final products cannot last. No doubt the more purchasing power people have, the more goods they will have effective buying power to absorb. If there is a limit to the number of boots an individual wants every year, there is hardly any limit to the books, pianos, motor-cars, flying machines, travel and other amenities in which he may indulge. But if the idea of "production to a programme" is carried out and waste eliminated, supply will be made to equal demand, and credit appreciation to keep pace with credit depreciation. Price, therefore, will once more equal cost. But not cost as it is reckoned to-day. For what does cost now include? It must ultimately include all capital depreciation, in as far as the capital written off by the Clearing House must be deducted from capital appreciation. But it does *not* include payments for the use of credit to a few individuals holding great financial power. Nor, once more, does it include the transference to individuals of ownership of plant (Prof. Hobhouse's "Property for Power") used for productive purposes.

What happens under the scheme is that all plant is now treated as a form of tool-power; it is a form of capital asset to be depreciated and written down from time to time, just as a tool wears out.

[19] Part II., clause 6, see end of chapter.

We have now, it is claimed, a definite relation between demand and prices instead of, as to-day, an immense desire for goods woefully stultified through lack of purchasing power. Prices could then, if desired, be brought by taxation to the international exchange level.

Douglas believes that a scheme of this nature would relieve the tremendous pressure on diminishing foreign markets which is now making for war. The tendency, he holds, would now be to save labour and energy and find markets at home instead of struggling for exports abroad. Price regulation is now within public control instead of being dictated by trusts and combines, and financial rings no longer hold the money power of the country in their hands.[20]

PRODUCER AND CONSUMER.

If the manufacturer (or other entrepreneur) is obliged to come to some publicly controlled Credit-Bank at short intervals for the means to make up the difference between price and cost (as above described), " then, and it seems probable only then, do we acquire a flexible, active control not only of the initiation, but of the development and modification of production by the public acting in their interest as individuals. . . . Without some such arrangement, which places the co-operative producer in the hands of the consumer . . . effective democracy is pure moonshine." [21]

Is it not known to every practical business man that " processes and discoveries of immense value have been wilfully stifled because it did not suit producers to modify their product? " " The business of producers is to produce; to take orders, not to give them; and the business of the public, as consumers, is not only to give orders, but to see that they are obeyed as to results, and to remove unsuitable or wilfully recalcitrant persons from the aristocracy of production to the democracy of consumption."[22]

Douglas would give to the producer the control of the *processes* of production, but the important thing is that the public should control *both credit-issue and price-making*. The two are vitally related, and only by a policy which embraces both as part of one single problem can economic democracy be made effective.

The issue of credit must keep in step with productive power, so that the production the people want may always find the money it requires. On the other hand, the people must be able to buy the whole of the goods which *can* be produced, so that no unsaleable surplus can accumulate. *An effective financial system therefore should " issue credit to the consumer, up to the limit of the productive capacity of the producer."*[23] When statisticians produce laborious evidence that if all the wealth of the country were evenly distributed the poor would be so slightly richer that it

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20 " Economic Democracy," p. 154.

21 "Credit Power," pp. 92, 93. 22 pp. 94, 95. 23 p. 106.

would hardly matter, Douglas points out that this entirely overlooks the *dynamic* nature of finance. For if the people generally had double the purchasing power they would create double the trade, and double the wealth would be produced. Eliminate the ludicrous waste of the present system, and another enormous increase would be secured.[24]

The draft scheme for the Mining Industry is printed at the end of this chapter, but for its detailed exegesis the reader must turn to the original sources.

After all that has been said about Consumer-control of Finance it is at first sight surprising to find that the proposed Bank is a *Producer's* Bank. But the producer has no control of prices; they are fixed, as we have seen, by the ratio of national credit appreciation to national credit depreciation in all industries.

"The Producer's Bank defines policy," but anyone who leaves the industry and becomes merely a consumer of coal continues to hold his share in the Bank. The Mining Directorate (on which the miners are increasingly represented) decides what capital is needed, and the Producer's Bank passes or rejects it. The control of credit-issue for development in mines thus seems still to be chiefly in the producer's hands.

But the above ratio does not imply that coal from every pit would be sold at the same price: those pits which could keep their costs down would have the advantage, and thus there would be an incentive to avoid waste. Any attempt to form a coal-ring would have to encounter a better organised and far more powerful public control than to-day.

Major Douglas speaks in his first book of production to a programme, and this at once raises the thorny problem of anticipating demand. The producer over an enormous field of industry must constantly initiate production. He must enable the public to see his goods before the said public can decide whether it wants them or not. The amount of wheat required can be estimated in advance with approximate accuracy, and so with many other standard necessities, but how can people decide whether they want my new carpet-sweeper until I have invented it, and someone has brought it, with considerable persistence, to their notice? How can I tell, till this book is on sale, whether or not the public wants it? Still more, if I am a pioneer or a minor prophet, and my art or writing, like that of most prophets and pioneers, is unpopular or unrecognised, may I not find that the public control of finance is tyrannous to minorities? It should be noted, however, that no one is bound to come under the scheme who does not wish to do so. Anyone who prefers to stay outside can still carry on private enterprise on his own account. Only

[24] The Stoll-Kitson schemes for producer-credit-control are examined, but Douglas holds that they would leave the producer in control of prices, and thus stimulate an orgy of production that would produce an eventual crash

in that case he has not the communal credit behind him, and will have to compete with communal prices. On the other hand, he has the same advantages as anybody else from whatever reduction may be made by the scheme in the cost of living.

The authors of the Douglas New Age Scheme advocate "consumer-control" as the path to freedom. Mr. S. G. Hobson[25] argues, on the other hand, that the destruction of the existing wage relationship requires "*the control of production by the producer instead of the consumer, who can only be the capitalist.*" Surely, however, the consumer must finally decide the general *class* of goods wanted, while the producer must be free to invent and initiate. Constant consultation between the parties (as Cole suggests) is necessary to smooth working. Strawberries or works of art cannot be produced to a programme—there will always be an element of uncertainty about the demand for new goods, the supply of perishable goods, and the output of craftsmanship and invention. Nevertheless, an *enormous* amount of the present waste due to private speculation and sabotage can be done away with.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE MAIN IDEA.

I have endeavoured above in my own way to set forth in broad outline what Major Douglas's two small books contain. Any adequate criticism of them, bristling as they are with controversial points on almost every page, would extend to a large volume. For the present, space and time forbid discussion of many points that ought to be discussed. A few fundamental issues must, however, be dealt with here, that lie more especially within the province of the present work. Firstly, can it be maintained that labour does *not* produce all wealth, therefore that everyone, whether worker or idler, has a right to share the product of past labour as his social inheritance; further, that a few experts will be able to do the world's work much better than the less skilled majority, these experts forming "a functionally aristocratic hierarchy of producers accredited by, and serving a democracy of, consumers," the consumers being encouraged to take up whatever hobbies amuse them?

It is quite clear that all wealth is not produced by the labour of to-day. It is produced by (1) natural forces, (2) labour, past and present, much of it stored as capital, (3) association, which is a function of labour. Association is the result of acts of will on the part of all who associate, and the increment of wealth it produces, though requiring no extra effort, is quite definitely *earned*. It is earned by the ingenuity which devises united effort, and by the co-operative ability of those who have learned to co-operate. It is earned primarily, indeed, by those who co-operate directly, but also, in a very real though secondary sense, by all who, even

[25] "National Guilds and the State," p. 30.

in the remotest and most indirect way, contribute to its production, and no one can say how wide this circle is. The increment should therefore be treated as communal.

As to our inheritance from the labour of past generations, it is, after all, something already given, like solar energy, something which we of this generation have done nothing to create. So is machinery once produced. Yet without the work of the present generation this inheritance would be of no use to anybody. Without thought and effort to-day there would be no production, no wealth. The consumer's need gives this production a value, because to supply it is the true purpose of production. But to say that "value" is due to the community is not the same as to say wealth is produced by the community. It is produced by those members of the community alone, present or past, who do any work. The consumer as such, though essential, is purely passive. In so far as Society is viewed merely as a wealth-producing machine, I cannot see that the non-worker has any right to its products.

The real basis of the consumer's right is that wealth was made for man, not man for wealth. Every human being is of incalculable value, and is an end, not a means. (I am not saying he is *only* an end.) Therefore *as a human being* he has a right to maintenance. To put it another way, if we have no right to destroy him, we have no right to starve him. Even our prison and poor law systems recognise this.[26]

Douglas argues that the man who receives an assured maintenance *qua* human being is freer than a man who is paid upon any other basis. This is true, provided he has enough sense of social responsibility to serve the community of his own accord.[27] For now no Authority can take away his livelihood. No fear of losing it ties his tongue, however much he criticises and challenges the powers that be. This is one of the essential conditions of freedom. Society gives him something for nothing, just as we give it to our children, because only if we trust the human spirit freely will it rise to its responsibilities. Work done under compulsion is done unwillingly and badly. Moreover, *no body or committee is able to decide what is work and what is not.* Was Wordsworth working when he was dreaming by the lakeside? It would be safe to say that any committee appointed to decide what was "Work of National Importance" would have turned him down. And they would do the same with the efforts of most pioneers and discoverers, simply because as such they are bound to be in advance of their age, and therefore never fully recognised by it—often not at all.

I believe that Bertrand Russell and others are right in sug-

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26 I believe the promoters of the scheme would agree.

27 See my argument, p. 81, to the effect that there can be no true freedom without acceptance of social responsibility.

gesting that the necessities of life should be free for all, though as a temporary measure, until the sense of social service for the love of it has had time to grow, his suggestion that those who are willing to do work recognised by Society should receive extra payment is, despite the objections to it, well worth considering. But if we would look away from mechanism to men, however true it may be that the world's work could be most effectively done by the 10 per cent. of mankind who are experts at the job,[28] it is psychologically unsatisfying. If we reverse the motto "that is moral which works best" and substitute "that works best which appeals to and calls forth the best in man as a social being," I believe the emphasis will be on the right place—i.e., on the human factor all the time. If our young people were to grow up to find their *work* was *not wanted,* that Society said to them, "You can see the world, enjoy painting and music as hobbies, spend your days at the seaside, and generally have a good time, but we don't really *need* you, there is no work that won't be done if you don't do it"—I am sure the result would be disastrous. We may well hope, however, that experiment will so blossom and abound that there will be no end to the useful activity opening up for mankind. Then we shall indeed begin to *live.* The development of arts and crafts, the beautifying of the house of every single human being with hand-made furniture and pictures, with the best books and no end of other aids to *life,* will provide what we shall then discover to be *necessary* (not luxury) work for any number of people.

The Douglas New Age Scheme is in one aspect a piece of bookkeeping, and not intended as a Utopia in itself. But its effect may be none the less far-reaching. Believing that no form of Socialism will be effective without Credit-control, and that with Credit-control the fangs of Capitalism are drawn, its authors put forward their scheme as one that can be started at once. They claim that it will injure nobody and cause no violent upheaval, but will silently and automatically transfer the power that controls industry into the hands of the people, where it ought to be. Whether or not it can be accomplished thus easily, the question of Credit Reform is of vital importance, and must be further examined. The following is the Draft Scheme for the Mining Industry. Those who wish to study the matter more fully should get the two books of Major Douglas [2nd Edn.] and read the *New Age.*

A PRACTICAL SCHEME FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

THE (MINING) SCHEME.

[The following exemplary Scheme, drawn up for special application to the Mining Industry, is designed to enable a transition to

28 See "Credit Power," ch. ii.

be effected from the present state of industrial chaos to a state of economic democracy, with the minimum amount of friction and the maximum results in the general well-being.]

DRAFT SCHEME.

I.

(1) For the purpose of efficient operation each geological mining area shall be considered as autonomous administratively.

(2) In each of these areas a branch of a Bank, to be formed by the M.F.G.B.[29] shall be established, hereinafter referred to as the Producers' Bank. The Government shall recognise this Bank as an integral part of the mining industry regarded as a producer of wealth, and representing its credit. It shall ensure its affiliation with the Clearing House.

(3) The shareholders of the Bank shall consist of all persons engaged in the Mining Industry, ex-officio, whose accounts are kept by the Bank. Each shareholder shall be entitled to one vote at a shareholders' meeting.

(4) The Bank as such shall pay no dividend.

(5) The capital already invested in the Mining properties and plant shall be entitled to a fixed return of, say, 6 per cent., and, together with all fresh capital, shall continue to carry with it all the ordinary privileges of capital administration other than Price-fixing.

(6) The Boards of Directors shall make all payments of wages and salaries direct to the Producers' Bank in bulk.

(7) In the case of a reduction in cost of working, one half of such reduction shall be dealt with in the National Credit Account, one quarter shall be credited to the Colliery owners, and one quarter to the Producers' Bank.

(8) From the setting to work of the Producers' Bank all subsequent expenditure on capital account shall be financed jointly by the Colliery owners and the Producers' Bank, in the ratio which the total dividends bear to the total wages and salaries. The benefits of such financing done by the Producers' Bank shall accrue to the depositors.

II.

(1) The Government shall require from the Colliery owners a quarterly (half-yearly or yearly) statement properly kept and audited of the cost of production, including all dividends and bonuses.

(2) On the basis of this ascertained Cost, the Government shall by statute cause the Price of domestic coal to be regulated at a percentage of the ascertained Cost.

(3) This Price (of domestic coal) shall bear the same ratio to Cost as the total National Consumption of all descriptions of com-

29 Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

modities does to the total National Production of Credit, i.e.,

∴ Cost : Price : : Production : Consumption.

$$\text{Price per ton} = \text{Cost per ton} \times \frac{\text{Cost value of Total Consumption}}{\text{Money value of Total Production.}}$$

[Total National Consumption includes Capital depreciation and Exports. Total National Production includes Capital appreciation and Imports.]

(4) Industrial coal shall be debited to users at Cost plus an agreed percentage.

(5) The Price of coal for export shall be fixed from day to day in relation to the world-market and in the general interest.

(6) The Government shall reimburse to the Colliery owners the difference between their total Cost incurred and their total Price received, by means of Treasury Notes, such notes being debited, as now, to the National Credit Account.

CHAPTER VI.

A Conclusion which is but a Beginning.

Education for and by Self-Government—International Unity—"No More War"—What can we do personally?—Draft for a Council for Christian Action—Man liveth not by bread alone—The Invincible City.

THIS book must shortly end, and I realise how many really important movements and possibilities have not been dealt with at all. There is Dennis Milner's State Bonus Scheme,* which would doubtless distribute purchasing power more evenly, there is the village community at Jordans, and other valuable experiments. The whole problem of securing the land for the people, and the opportunity for those to work it who can work it best is barely even indicated. A correspondent of mine, who has given considerable study to the subject and is working as a farm labourer,[1] argues forcibly that "back to the Gospel" means "back to the Land." The health and full development of human beings in body and spirit demands that men should be more evenly distributed over the land, and more generally engaged in its actual cultivation than is the case in Western civilisation at the present day. A Christian, he feels, if young and strong, should cease to be a member of the middleman class, and should join the working class. For one thing, it is more manly, and, moreover, he need no longer feel ashamed to feed from a supply of food to which he has not contributed by his toil. I believe that there is great truth in this point of view, even if we cannot all go farming, and regret that, through lack of space and time and of practical experience in agriculture, I have failed to give this vital topic the attention it deserves. My readers must develop it for themselves.

This book does not pretend to be more than a fragment, but I derive a sort of cold comfort from remembering that books on these topics can in any case never be complete. This one had better say what it can now, and be superseded in its turn by fuller treatment from whomsoever it may come.

EDUCATION FOR AND BY SELF-GOVERNMENT.

On Education, using the term in the widest sense, depends the success of all that is advocated above, and of all that a new

* For securing a minimum income to all.

1 Philip J. Butler, 3, Dunkirk Road, Southport, who would be glad to communicate with others who are feeling the same way.

Social Order is to achieve. People who begin a series of objections to all idealistic proposals with the remark, "But human nature being what it is . . ." should face the fact that a child's future will be shaped by the ideals put before him in early youth, and, above all, by the extent to which those who put them before him carry them, or fail to carry them, into practice.[2] If a child is taught always to "look after No. 1," it will be very difficult for him to become a citizen of a co-operative commonwealth. If, on the other hand, he is not merely *told* that he ought to be unselfish, but is faced with the continual example of unselfishness in others, he will find co-operation (though not without struggle) become second nature. If he is regimented in a class of 60 children, where an overworked, undertrained, and underpaid teacher is practically driven to autocratic methods, how can we expect him to take intelligent part in industrial self-government? If, however, he enters a class where the children largely manage their own affairs, organise hobbies and research, and work out problems in common—a class where, instead of learning by rote like parrots, they use their minds and delight to exercise their creative powers—then he will develop the initiative, inventiveness, and corporate spirit that a self-governing commonwealth requires. In saying this, I am not merely theorising. I have talked at some length with teachers who are carrying out such experiments, and they are convinced of the enormous gain, the entirely new atmosphere that is created.

"The spontaneous concentration of a Montessori child is so marked a feature of that system that teachers sometimes have to restrain it, even as one prevents a hungry child from overeating.

"The free, vigorous, and joyous exercise of his faculties appears to have a beneficial effect on the moral development of a child. There is no necessity for punishment in the Montessori school. . . . A bad-tempered, troublesome boy seems, under the influence of his handwork, to develop a moral calm. People visiting schools where freedom and natural self-education have been to any extent practised notice an unusual friendliness and comradeship on the part of the children both towards each other and to their elders. Interest and joy in work seem to act as regulating moral forces, creating that sympathy and affection towards one's fellows which, if given full scope, may develop an ever-widening conception of human relationships, reaching out until it embraces the whole of humanity."[3]

Interesting experiments in accordance with this aim are being made in many schools. The endeavour is to apply the laboratory

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[2] See Kidd, "The Science of Power," which contends with much force that the objective of human endeavour can be radically altered in a generation or two.

[3] Quoted from chapter vi. on New Town Education in "New Town" (Dent, 2/-). The whole chapter is very well worth reading.

method as widely as possible, the children choosing which research groups they will enter, and then, in consultation with the teacher, planning out investigations for about a month ahead. Thus self-government is achieved, not by any attempt to institute it formally (which might in many cases be disastrous), but by arousing the interest of young people in particular enquiries. In pursuit of these, co-operation and self-government develop almost unconsciously.

Although the " Little Commonwealth " was given up near the beginning of the war, its achievements during a considerable period give one a glimpse of what self-government among children may become. We must remember that the colony was composed entirely of juvenile delinquents who had been brought into courts themselves. One example quoted from the chapter on Social Experiments in W. Clarke Hall's " The State and the Child " [4] illustrates the working of juvenile self-government upon what would usually be termed its penal side.

" One of the boys was a great problem to the community. He was always before the court (composed of juveniles and worked entirely by themselves) for some error of omission or commission. He could not keep out of trouble. All the penalties available to the judge had been imposed upon him but without the desired results. He became sullen and defiant. He refused to work, and purposely committed acts in defiance of the laws. (These laws were made and administered by the juveniles forming the colony.) He became what would, in the greater community, be called an habitual and confirmed criminal, and would have been sent to prison. It was a girl judge upon whom the responsibility for his future relationship with the community fell. Week after week Ted got deeper and deeper into trouble. During one of the court sessions, after complaint upon complaint had been brought against the unruly, defiant lad, the girl judge, realising the futility of further penalties, arrived at this decision in the case. (Let me explain here that Ted's mother had recently visited the Commonwealth and won the respect of every citizen by her gentle ways.)

" This was the judicial finding in the case : ' No boy would act as Ted does if he had not forgotten his mother. It is of no use punishing him, for it only makes him worse. He has lost his self-respect. What he needs is to get acquainted with his mother again and get his self-respect back. I shall send him home for a week's holiday at the expense of the taxpayers.'

" Ted, who up to now had been defiant and hard and triumphant, burst into tears.

" He spent his week at home, and returned a changed boy. The important part of this incident is that the judge ordered that the mother should not be informed that Ted was not enjoying a

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[4] pp 161, 162

well-earned holiday, and that before his visit was over Ted himself told his mother of the circumstances under which he was at home."

If "young criminals" can so far rise above the standards of ordinary society as to carry on a colony on what are to a large extent the simple principles of Christianity, what may we not hope for the Society of the future, once our young people are given the chance to develop self-government for common service?

The international aspect of education is also of vital importance.[5] The history taught in the schools of each country has tended to magnify the child's own country and write down other countries. Since such a view flatters it is easily absorbed. What wonder, then, that we have race arrogance and wars? It has been suggested that an international commission should examine all history text-books used in schools. Perhaps this might have its drawbacks, but every effort should be made to secure history text-books with a world outlook and a right concentration upon the life of the people, instead of upon battles, kings, and courts.

Our fundamental need in education, as Bertrand Russell so finely insists, is reverence—reverence for the untold possibilities of that wonderful being, the child. The child bears within him the boundless future of the race. We must give him all the help in our power; we must offer him our best in the way of help and guidance, but to endeavour to mould him into *our* way of thinking instead of encouraging him to develop along the lines of his own highest life is to commit an almost unforgivable sin against the future of mankind. How little we understand these unique little people! How easy it is to cramp or thwart what are often noble and generous instincts within them! Authority over them to a certain degree we must exercise, but if we let them feel we are their friends, playmates and comrades, the authority will become what it ought to be, the advice of riper experience, the force of example, and the appeal to the growing conscience. God hath provided some better thing for them, that we without them should not be made perfect.

INTERNATIONAL UNITY.

What has been already said in the chapter on Credit Reform suggests the vital importance of international co-operation.

Unless we achieve this we shall have wars on so terrible a scale that the whole existence of the race may be jeopardised.

"If there is another war," said Mr. Lloyd George at Thame on July 31st, 1921, "it will be terrible beyond thought; the machinery of destruction during the war was becoming more terrible year by year, month by month. Just before the bells of peace were set ringing we had more horrible machinery than the

[5] See Bertrand Russell, "Principles of Social Reconstruction," and H. G. Wells, "The Salvaging of Civilization."

world had yet seen. I doubt not that similar devices were perfecting on the other side. The ingenious mind of a man will go on developing these horrors, and no one can conceive what the next war might be like. Europe might become as the North of France."

POISON LIQUID.

The United States Chemical Warfare Service has announced the discovery of a new poison liquid so deadly that

three drops on the skin will kill a man.

Capt. Bradner, the Chief of the Department, says that one aeroplane carrying two tons of the liquid could

kill every man within a space of 7 miles long and 100 feet wide.

The French Air Service has invented aeroplanes which can be controlled by wireless, and drop bombs automatically. It is calculated that a fleet of 300 machines, each carrying 5 cwt. of bombs, manipulated from a single control station in Paris, could, within 24 hours, unload nearly 2,000 tons of bombs in Berlin, Geneva, or London.

The American War Department has invented torpedoes controllable by wireless. They can be guided from the air, with the result that they will not only have an immensely longer range, but will be able to change their direction and follow their victims relentlessly.

LETHAL RAYS AND GERM WARFARE.

Major-General E. D. Swinton, a British expert, states that progress is being made in the development of rays for lethal purposes. "We have X-rays," he says. "We have light-rays. We have heat-rays. . . . We may not be so very far from the development of some kind of lethal ray which will shrivel up or paralyse or poison human beings."

General Swinton prophesies the coming of germ warfare. "I think it will come to that," he says, "and, so far as I can see, there is no reason why it should not. . . . We must envisage these new forms of warfare, and, as far as possible, expend energy, time, and money in encouraging our inventors and scientists to study *the waging of war on a wholesale scale* instead of . . . thinking so much about methods which will kill a few individuals only at a time."

"Is it not madness that the Governments of the world should still be expending their 'energy, time and money' in creating these horrible weapons of destruction and death for use against one another? Isn't it time that they agreed to stop it?

Unless mankind destroys war, war will destroy mankind."[6]

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[6] The above quotations are taken from a leaflet of the National Peace Council, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C. 2.

What are we to do about it? The roots of war are deeply planted in our social and industrial life. The love of gain and domination, the running of industry and finance for private profit instead of for social service, the power of large combines and monopolies, the struggle of these for markets and exclusive concessions abroad, the power of armament firms over Governments, the provocative nature of armaments as such—all these are factors tending constantly to provoke international conflict. True and lasting peace can only be based upon a just social system. We must create a peace that is more adventurous and heroic than war. That is why so much space has been devoted in the preceding pages to the question of achieving an industrial commonwealth in which discovery, art, and the fulness of life may be possible for *all*. "The world as it can be made" is supremely wonderful and glorious; to say that only amid the hell of bombs and poison gases can human nature exhibit the highest heroism is the grossest insult to the intelligence and goodwill of mankind.

Again, we must destroy the old false tradition of the unique sanctity of the State, and develop a world citizenship, which, while including all that is good in patriotism, shall look ever first to the welfare of the whole human race. Diplomacy must be brought into touch with the thoughts and feelings of the mass of the people.

In all these questions effective action is often held up because the man of far horizons is apt to forget immediate means in distant ends, while, on the other hand, the man who is always wanting the practical next step is so anxious to get something done that he fails to consider sufficiently whether that something may or may not be side-tracking instead of furthering the larger end. Both errors are foolish and disastrous, but probably the second is much the more common.

Let us not be afraid of securing half-measures (provided they are steps to something greater), but let us (I would say it to myself) never seek ideals less than the highest.

The bolder policy is constantly the best. I believe total world disarmament would be far safer than partial disarmament, world or sectional, though I would do all I could to promote even the latter. Here is an affirmation of the "No More War International Movement" which has been far more widely signed in Germany and Austria than here:—

> "Believing that all war is wrong, and that the arming of nations, whether by sea, land, or air, is treason to the spiritual unity and intelligence of mankind, I declare it to be my intention never to take part in war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, whether by bearing arms, making or handling munitions, voluntarily subscribing to war loans, or using my labour for the purpose of setting others free for war service. Further, I declare my intention

to strive for the removal of all causes of war, and to work for the establishment of a new social order based on co-operation for the common good."

Everyone who feels able to subscribe to this can do so by writing to Miss Beatrice C. M. Brown, Secretary, "No More War International Movement," 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4.

The League of Nations is at present in great danger of being a league of capitalists and diplomats, but I would support it in any action it takes tending to promote international understanding while also working for its democratisation, and still more for a remodelled "Workers' International."

WHAT CAN WE DO PERSONALLY?

One of the most earnest men I have known, a member of a communistic group, who at the age of 31 (I suspect partly because of his vigorous pursuit of his ideals) passed beyond this life—the late John George Harrison, of Leeds—sent me some time ago his draft for a "Council of Christian Action" which was then being mooted.[7] The draft was not intended for publication in the form which reached me; it is open to criticism in a number of points (what proposals are not?), but with few omissions, largely of a merely personal character and some slight emendations suggested by his wife, I am glad to include it as one of "Jack's" last challenges to his generation. (It was he who told me of the joy he found when he had given away his last sixpence.)

"COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN ACTION.

"The following are the principles of Christian action which the undersigned pledge themselves to practise *NOW*, without waiting until a political revolution makes such action compulsory :—

(1) That there should be no outward distinction between rich and poor. This implies the surrender of titles, mansions, jewellery, luxuries.

(2) That the only 'services' for which financial reward ought ever to be asked are the productive labour of hand and brain. . . .

(4) That the Christian who lends his money for housing or industrial purposes or for the purchase of land will be content if he receives his money back again in annual instalments. That the sum total thus received ought never to exceed the sum lent.

(5) That the employer ought to be the servant and not the master of his employees. His directive ability will thus be placed at the service of his fellow workers and he will no longer be a dictator but will become a servant.

[7] By a group connected with "The Crusader."

(6) That all men should be ready to render service 'freely,' even though there is no financial reward. The Christian will give or lend his time and energy and capital, 'expecting nothing,' 'despairing not.'

(7) That the Christian is not justified in withholding his labour or his savings because the person or persons in need cannot afford to pay.

(8) That the Christian would prefer to make a gift of his savings and his labour to a person in need rather than sell it to the highest bidder.

(9) Remembering the great suffering and poverty in the world, it is obviously impossible for the Christian to demand from his fellows more than a bare subsistence for the work he performs. And it is obviously impossible for him to demand interest on his capital when the needs of those who cannot afford to pay are so urgent and pressing (*e.g.*, very few workers could afford to pay £1 a week interest on £1,000 loan required for a house—they could not even afford to buy the house in twenty annual instalments of £50).

6, 7, 8, and 9 go a little beyond any ethical code which might be enforced by a political revolution, in so far as they suggest working for 'nowt' and giving away one's savings.

(10) The acceptance of the above principles leaves the Christian on the poverty line. Where then shall he look for 'security'? Surely he ought to rely on God and on the goodwill of his fellows. The Church will be his insurance society, his burial club, his unemployment benefit society, and his savings bank. He will lay up for himself treasures in heaven. And on earth he will make for himself friends by means of Christian use of the 'mammon of unrighteousness.'

(11) There should not be two standards of living and income in the same house, one for master and one for servant. This means either a common purse or equitable sharing of the total income.

It is of far more importance to get six signatures to a statement like this than 1,000 to a more vague and less extreme statement. It is really a very wicked and blasphemous thing to put forward in Christ's name something which is a compromise between Christ and public opinion."

This draft seems closely to approach the spirit of primitive Christianity. There is the same insistence on lending without thought of gain, the same horror of heaping up material treasures on earth, the same repudiation of class distinctions, the same spirit of uncalculating service, the same abandon and trust in God. The Church (as it ought to be) is to be our insurance society, and our banking account is to consist of human friend-

ship, not of privately accumulated savings. (This, I take it, does not rule out communal savings.)

The "practical man" of course objects that this is pure lunacy, but as a number of experiments conducted on these general lines have achieved marked success (one, Sneaton Castle School, Whitby, where the Sisters in charge own no property, is proceeding merrily not thirty miles from where I write), the "practical man" is invited to think again.[8]

I am not contending that all of us are in a position to adopt a complete early Christian Communism right away. We can probably go much further than we generally think we can, and every one of us must, if we are to see a better world, constantly strive to *share* as widely as possible the goods and advantages that come our way. The task of overcoming class and personal barriers, and of cultivating, both in our homes, especially with those who give us domestic help, and also in the places where we work and in wider fields, that group-family spirit without which all schemes and constitutions are almost useless—all this demands the most heroic devotion of which we are capable. And as we rise to meet it, so does the challenge of the New World grow greater.

Every sincere man and woman must feel the painful inadequacy and inconsistency of his own conduct. I do. Thousands of Russians are starving while I have three ample regular meals a day and usually a few pounds in the bank. Our family lives at least above the poverty line, whereas many are far below it. We still pay a wage to a young woman who helps us with the housework, and give our children educational opportunities that are denied to many.

A coloured man told us at the All Friends' Conference that the Western World generally was living at a standard only made possible by the exploitation of the coloured races. I remember, too, when doing relief work in famine-stricken Vienna how difficult this problem of standards became. Were we to lower ours to the level around us? We had come out at considerable expense, and the Viennese had become inured to a starvation diet which an eminent medical authority declared would kill off like flies English people and others who were unused to it. What we did was to avail ourselves of the British Army rations served out to those co-operating with the Food Mission and go on with our work. Otherwise very possibly we should have broken down in health, and cost more in the long run.

It is very easy to excuse oneself by this sort of argument, but clearly one may strive after a kind of logical consistency to the neglect of other issues equally or more vital. The only real

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8 For an analysis of the success and failure of various Communistic experiments see "Whence Come Wars?" pp. 109-136. (Out of print. To be borrowed from the Library of the "Committee on War and the Social Order," 136, Bishopsgate, E.C. 2, or from Rowancroft Settlement, Scarborough.)

consistency is always to do the best, never the second best, under the circumstances, and to do that we need to combine the heroism of the Christian martyr with the brains of Napoleon and the heart of Peter Pan.

To accept the role of the superman who must be better nourished presumably because he is more important seems flatly to deny the whole Christian ethic. We must never accept it, and only tolerate it for the moment, if at all, to achieve some definite social purpose, and in order more speedily to abolish the very privilege we are accepting. If the Bottom Dog is too much submerged to fight for himself, it is all the more " up to " those more favourably situated to fight for him until the difference of situation is abolished. Two of my friends have given up the opportunity of great wealth, social status, and luxury to live with the people in the slums of Hoxton. I honour them with all my heart. But my wife and I, having three little girls, don't feel it right to take them into the slums. There should, of course, be no slums and no children in them, but we who accept the privilege of living in a healthy quarter must all the more strive to abolish slums with all speed, and enable everyone to revel in the fresh air.

Every life is bound up with every other life, but the world is not yet an industrial or political unity. We may be able to feed others best by going short ourselves or we may not. It depends on circumstances.

In many working families the wife goes short that the breadwinner may be kept fit. But for the breadwinner to accept such a situation as normal and right and cease striving with all speed to end it would be monstrous. We of the privileged classes are like that breadwinner, and if we are not pulling our weight in the struggle for freeing the people our action is still more monstrous.

The problem of individual duty cannot be separated from the problem of salvaging Society.

We have no business to spend money on luxuries while people are starving, yet at the same time our positive work for Society is more important than our individual consistency as usually understood.

The man who is employer or director in a capitalistic business has not simply to say, " Does this business form part of an evil system? " but, " How can I work most effectively to abolish the evil system and bring in the Kingdom of God? " It is a good thing that none of us is keeper of his brother's conscience. Our own give us trouble enough.

But look at the question from the world-viewpoint. Douglas, Gantt, Herzog, and Kropotkin suggest that with reasonable application and organisation we can have the means at once to

support everyone in ample comfort. Assuming this to be true, is not the important point to concentrate on bringing it about, so that instead of sharing the miseries of our fellow men we may share their joys? The "Man of Joys" came that men might have life and that they might have it abundantly. We need not fear that in the better world we long for there will be too little to call forth our sympathy. Sorrow is not likely to disappear so quickly, but the sympathy aroused by sharing joys can be inexpressibly wonderful, as every true lover knows. We must work for a world where sorrow and pain as they exist to-day entirely disappear, because man will have progressed beyond the need of the discipline these things supply. Struggle there will always be; we must always strive after that which is beyond and above, but more and more, instead of the pain of defeat will be found the joy of conquest.

This book has concerned itself out of all true proportion with the economic side of life. "Man liveth not by bread alone," yet first we must fulfil the commission "Give ye them to eat." A pagan economic order is diverting to itself the activities which ought to be given to the higher life. To liberate the fettered wings of the spirit for their true flight we must untie the fetters. We must do everything in our power to secure the revolution by education and propaganda, so that it may be achieved by consent and not by violence. By violence, as I have said, it never *can* be achieved. When the economic system of the future secures the basis of free life to all, and even during the time when it is beginning to do so, our prime task of realising a world brother and sisterhood can be taken up under vastly more favourable conditions. Thus the Kingdom of God, beginning within the hearts of those who have caught the vision, will be realised more and more in the life of the world, until the old bad order falls away and the Kingdoms of this world become in very deed the co-operative commonwealth of the children of God, now at last in voluntary union with Him in whom they live and move and are.

"A great city is that which has the greatest men and women,
If it be a few ragged huts it is still the greatest city in the whole world . . .
Where the city stands with the brawniest breed of orators and bards,
Where the city stands which is belov'd by these, and loves them in return and understands them,
Where no monuments exist to heroes but in the common words and deeds . . .
Where the slave ceases, and the master of the slaves ceases . . .
Where outside authority enters always after the precedence of inside authority, . . .

Where children are taught to be laws to themselves, and to
depend on themselves, . . .
Where speculations on the soul are encouraged, . . .
Where the city of the faithfullest friends stands,
Where the city of the cleanliness of the sexes stands,
Where the city of the healthiest fathers stands,
Where the city of the best-bodied mothers stands,
There the great city stands. . . ."

" I dream'd in a dream I saw a city invincible to the attacks
of the whole of the rest of the earth,
I dream'd that was the new city of Friends,
Nothing was greater there than the quality of robust love,
it led the rest,
It was seen every hour in the actions of the men of that city,
And in all their looks and words."

" And the City needs no sun nor moon to shine upon it, for the
glory of God illumines it. . . . But in its light will
the nations walk. . . .
The gates of it shall never be shut by day,
For there shall be no night there."

APPENDIX I.

The Historical Value of the Gospels.

How far are our Gospels reliable? It is true that some writers of note regard the personality of Jesus as largely mythical. Many of our greatest critics and scholars on the other hand believe that we have in the Gospels a large amount of reliable information about him Each of us must in the end ask ourselves "Does the gospel portrait of Jesus convince ME?" It is, however, very widely agreed by scholars:—

(a) That Matthew and Luke are based upon the earliest gospel, Mark, which deals chiefly with the doings of Jesus.

(b) That they also share in common a still earlier document (Q) almost entirely devoted to recording sayings of Jesus, hardly any of which appear in Mark.

(c) That both Matthew and Luke have considerable portions peculiar to themselves of varying historical value, Matthew having Judaic tendencies, a strong tendency to find fulfilment of prophecy everywhere, and to harmonise Christianity with the Jewish law, Luke having a very marked sympathy with women and with the poor, outcast, Samaritans and Gentiles, a social tendency in the direction of Communism, but also a desire to present a favourable case to the Roman authorities

(d) That the Fourth Gospel has strong allegorising tendencies, is rather a meditation on the person of Jesus than a biography, but has some most valuable historical material: further, that it has in many ways the most profound grasp of any of the gospels of the mind of Jesus and the essentials of his teaching. The author is however hotly, and often, it is widely admitted, unfairly anti-Jewish

Of the reliability of the picture of Jesus in its broad outlines as given us by these different sources I myself have no doubt It stands forth so clear-cut and convincing that its fabrication would be far more difficult to explain than the existence of its model. In discussing particular passages we must always allow for the peculiar tendencies of the several gospel writers. But the resultant picture of Jesus is so fresh, heroic and inspiring that the best minds throughout the ages have rightly found in him their supreme leader and inspirer in deepest things of life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The literature of this subject is enormous. I have found very helpful the commentaries (in German) edited by Johannes Weiss, entitled "Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments." (Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen)

In English the series by J. Alexander Findlay, entitled "Jesus as They Saw Him" (in three parts) are very fresh and suggestive. (Epworth Press, 2/-, 2/6, and 3/6) See also articles in Prof Peake's one volume "Commentary on the Bible"

But every serious student should work with a Synopticon, comparing the gospels for himself in parallel passages (e.g., in English, Stevens & Burton (Hodder), in Greek, Tischendorf, Wright, Rushworth and others)

APPENDIX II.

Did Jesus expect the Kingdom in this life or the next?

The important issues raised by Schweitzer and the Eschatalogical School demand some discussion here. Also the question of eternal punishment must be briefly touched upon in an examination of the social ethics of Jesus.

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SCHWEITZER ATTRIBUTES TO JESUS THE BELIEF IN A PREDESTINED WORLD-CATASTROPHE.

Schweitzer[1] and other Eschatalogists argue that Jesus' world-outlook was dominated by a dogmatic theory, viz., that God was about to bring to pass a world-catastrophe which would usher in the Kingdom almost or entirely without the agency of man, that some men were predestined for salvation and others for damnation, that the Sermon on the Mount and other teaching of Jesus was only an interim-ethic for the days until this took place, and that the work of Jesus himself was to let loose the final woes which should prelude a Divine Catastrophe bringing all ordinary history to an end.

Johannes Weiss ("Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments" I. 115, and Schweitzer, "Quest" p. 354) claim that the secretly growing Seed and Leaven parables lay no stress on any idea of development from within. The growth of the seed takes place quite apart from any effort of the sower, once the seed is sown, and the contrast emphasized is simply that between the minute beginnings of the Kingdom and its immense extension wrought by God alone. This *may* be a correct exposition here, yet on the other hand in the Sower parable the seed sown is the word, which can grow only in one soil—the heart of man.[2] The explanation in the text is confused, in that the seed represents both the word and the people who receive or reject it. Must not the "good ground" also represent those who receive it? If, despite this confusion it is legitimate to press at all the explanations of the text (cp. Parable of the Tares—"the field is the world," though the good seed is the sons of the Kingdom (Matt. xiii. 38) is the whole process entirely predetermined? Is mankind here viewed merely as a marionette? Would Jesus have exhorted men to *seek* the Kingdom if they were merely passive instruments of a divine plan of salvation or damnation?

Mark iv. 28 says the earth acts "automatically" (so far as the sower is concerned). Accepting the conclusion that the stress in this parable and in those of the leaven and mustard seed is centred upon the greatness of the extension of the Kingdom compared with the apparent smallness of the cause, we must also remember the strong emphasis laid by Jesus again and again on personal choice and effort. Were some people *bound* to endure for a while only to be choked by worldly cares and riches: were others *bound* to bury their talents in the earth?

THE KINGDOM REFERRED PARTLY TO A FUTURE AGE.

The following sayings (which it should be noted are practically confined to Matthew) appear to refer the Kingdom partly to a time beyond the present age. "The Son of Man will send forth his angels, and they will gather *out of*

[1] "Quest of the Historical Jesus" (Black), especially pp. 348 and ff.

[2] Mark iv. 14.

his Kingdom . . . all who practise iniquity, and these they will throw into the fiery furnace. . . Then will the righteous shine forth as the sun *in their Father's Kingdom* " (Matt. xiii. 40-43). This suggests (1) that the Kingdom has already been established, at least in measure, on earth (2) that it has so far contained both good and evil persons (3) that in its purged form after the end of this age only the righteous are left.

"In the new birth (new age, new world, glorious change, or restoration of the perfection before the fall) when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, you . . shall sit on twelve thrones to govern the twelve tribes. . ." (Matt. xix. 28). This last passage (peculiar to Matthew) surely reflects the dreaming of the twin disciples who wanted the best seats, rather than the thought of the Master who rebuked them!

Again: "Then shall the King say to those on his right hand 'Come . . . you whom my Father has blessed, come into your inheritance in the Kingdom prepared for you from creation. . .'" (Matt. xxv. 34.)

It is clear that here the writer of Matthew regards the final completion of the Kingdom as taking place only in the future age "when the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him." The Kingdom here is a state of blessedness predestined for the righteous and implying doubtless a righteous social order. But note the conditions of entry—are they not the very works of love stressed in the Golden Rule, in the story of the Good Samaritan, and in the Sermon on the Mount? The test is far from being theological, or even one of conscious service to the King. Thus the righteous confess they had no idea their deeds of mercy were done unto him.

A number of sayings do, however, suggest that Jesus viewed his death and resurrection as a turning point in the history of the Kingdom. "The Son of Man has come not to be served but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many." (Mark x. 45) "This means my blood, the new covenant-blood, shed for many, to win the remission of their sins . . . I will not drink this produce of the vine till the day I drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom." (Matt. xxvi. 28, Mark xiv. 24, Luke xxii. 20, 1 Cor. xi. 25.)

Not indeed until after his death and the coming of the Holy Spirit would the Kingdom be fully established. "And I will send down upon you what my Father has promised, but wait here in the city until you are endued with power from on high." (Luke xxiv. 49) He charged them not to leave Jerusalem, but to wait for the Spirit which the Father promised. (Acts i. 4.) Uplifted then by God's right hand, and receiving from the Father the long-promised Holy Spirit, he has poured on us what you now see and hear. (Acts ii. 33)

It may have been that—perhaps as a result of the hostility of the Jewish rulers—Jesus came to believe that the Messianic Kingdom would only be brought to full fruit in the next life or age, or at least after the great world-cataclysm that was to come. He himself frankly confessed his ignorance of "that day and that hour." (Mark xiii. 32.) The Kingdom then is expected, in this view, to be completed in the coming age after a great assize (which according to John is really taking place to-day and all the time). Is the coming of this future age viewed as involving the entire dissolution of this earth and of its society? It is most instructive to compare 1 Thess. iv. 15-17 (the earliest writing of the New Testament) in which, at the sound of the trumpet, "we the living, who survive, will be caught up along with them (the dead) in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so we will be with the Lord for ever," with 1 Cor. ch. 15. Note especially verses 24 and ff. "Later on (after the resurrection of all) comes the End, when he (Christ) hands over his royal power (or the Kingdom) to God the Father, *when he shall have overthrown all other government, all other authorities and powers.* For he must continue to be king until God has put all his enemies under his feet." Note that of these death is the last. Does not this suggest that the rest of the conquest will have taken place in this life? Finally, God is to be everything to everyone, the Son himself being subject to him. As to method "our mortal bodies cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, nor can the perishing inherit the

imperishable . . . we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed in a moment . . ."

Whatever our attitude toward this remarkable forecast, the main point for Paul is absolutely clear—namely, that the Christian fellowship represented by the Kingdom was not to be dissolved, but instead to expand until it embraced the universe. Probably the conception of Jesus himself was somewhat similar. An examination of the discourses about the Kingdom in the different gospels shows plainly that its outline varied, and that times and seasons were indistinct. In Mark xiii. the fall of Jerusalem and the end of the world are mixed up. May we not reasonably and in all sincerity stress little the forms of uncertain predictions, but rather with all our energy insist upon the vital importance of the message of love and fellowship, which Jesus taught his disciples to pray should be realized on earth, and thence carried forward into the life beyond?

This view is obviously more in accord with our modern outlook than any belief in a literal fulfilment of what should surely be treated as a great parable. In the same way the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven must for us mean a coming of the son of man in the hearts of men. Nowhere else can his coming have any moral value

The dynamic of the message of Jesus depends but little upon questions of date or even of physical condition However much it be proved that the historical Jesus belonged to the first century and was limited in knowledge by his age, this only gives the more powerful appeal to his real coming in the hearts of men as lover, friend and comrade

As Jesus himself constantly showed, what he desired was the voluntary entrance into fellowship with him of each disciple in his own heart, and the voluntary re-modelling of Society accordingly: Why else in the temptation in the wilderness did Jesus so strongly resist the spectacular as a snare and an evil? Why did he so consistently refuse to work signs for advertisement, why enjoin his followers to silence about his works of healing? Why did he refuse the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them? The Eschatologists do not seem to me to adduce sufficient evidence for their belief that so profound and original thinker as Jesus was dominated by a fixed dogma of pre-ordained catastrophe, nor do they explain why, if the whole world as we know it was to come to an end in a few weeks, Jesus should have thought it worth while to give to men so much of the greatest ethical teaching ever spoken—teaching teeming with ideas *that would take long to fructify*. Why were the law and the prophets only until John? Read through the "Sermon on the Mount" (Matt. v.-vii) and Luke's corresponding "Sermon on the Plain" (Luke vi 18-49) and ask yourself "Is this teaching simply a set of emergency instructions, or is it designed to show the way men must live in order that God's Kingdom may be realized and his will done upon earth?"

One great and challenging passage from Schweitzer[3] is well worth our earnest thought. I believe I shall do best to leave it without comment to you, reader, to wrestle with for yourself:—

"There was a danger that we should offer them a Jesus who was too small, because we had forced Him into conformity with our human standards and human psychology. To see that, one need only read the Lives of Jesus written since the 'sixties, and notice what they have made of the great imperious sayings of the Lord, how they have weakened down His imperative world-contemning demands upon individuals, that He might not come into conflict with our ethical ideals, and might tune His denial of the world to our acceptance of it. Many of the greatest sayings are found lying in a corner like explosive shells from which the charges have been removed No small portion of elemental religious power needed to be drawn off from His sayings to prevent them from conflicting with our system of religious world-acceptance. We have made Jesus hold another language with our time from that which He really held.

"In the process we ourselves have been enfeebled, and have robbed our own

3 "Quest," pp. 398-400.

thoughts of their vigour in order to project them back into history and make them speak to us out of the past. It is nothing less than a misfortune for modern theology that it . . . ends by being proud of the skill with which it finds its own thoughts . . in Jesus, and represents Him as expressing them. . . .

"Because it is thus pre-occupied with the general, the universal, modern theology is determined to find its world-accepting ethic in the teaching of Jesus. Therein lies its weakness. The world affirms itself automatically; the modern spirit cannot but affirm it But why on that account abolish the conflict between modern life, with the world-affirming spirit which inspires it as a whole, and the world-negating spirit of Jesus? Why spare the spirit of the individual man its appointed task of fighting its way through the world-negation of Jesus, of contending with Him at every step over the value of material and intellectual goods—a conflict in which it may never rest?"

APPENDIX III.

Eternal Punishment.

That magnificent chapter in Matthew (ch xxv.) which describes the Great Assize seems to have one great blot upon it—the punishment of the wicked appears to be irrevocable and endless If it is irrevocable, is it not anti-social and supremely cruel? A belief in an eternal punishment which is in any way determined or willed by God is a flat denial of his nature of love. Punishment if eternal cannot be redemptive, and how can love tolerate punishment that is not destined to purify and redeem? We find a similar problem in the parable of Dives and Lazarus [4] What is Dives doing in hell if he has the decency to want to save his five brothers? Their lot at least is not hopeless These five brothers still on earth have Moses and the prophets, presumably if they hear them they have another chance Dives is in hell for his treatment of Lazarus, partly also, it may be, to make good the inequality of their respective situations when on earth There is indeed a great gulf fixed between Dives and Abraham, and all transit between heaven and hell appears to be cut off. Probably, as elsewhere, we must not press the details of this parable too far; as it stands it seems to support the idea of the irrevocable punishment of a man who had some good instincts left, but the essential point of it is that people should show mercy and justice in this life, and not wait enjoying their selfish ease until some great event startles them into repentance Perhaps really the parable refers, as J Weiss suggests, chiefly to the unrepentant and unbelieving Jews and to the Christians whom they oppressed

It is not easy upon the evidence to decide whether or not Jesus believed in a final, irrevocable punishment If he did, I should feel bound to conclude that his thought on this point was below the moral level of our own age. He might still be by far the noblest soul who had ever lived, but our ideal here could not be in the Jesus of history, but in "the Christ that is to be" The Fourth Gospel reports him as saying, "Greater works than these shall ye do, because I go unto the Father," and as promising that the Spirit of Truth should carry on his work and lead us into all truth The Church most truly honours Jesus, not by tying itself to every detail of his historical life, outlook and commands, but by drinking more deeply of his spirit than she has ever yet done, and sharing with him the forward outlook to the coming of his Kingdom. The Jesus of history is millenniums ahead of our diseased and grasping Society, but if on any point he

4 Luke xvi. 19-31 from "S."

had not himself grasped the full implications of his own teaching, may not all of us who are able to believe in his continued life believe also that his ideals and purposes must, through the experience of the ages, have by now advanced to a range and height far beyond what was possible to him while on earth?

But with regard to eternal punishment, the teaching of the writer of the Fourth Gospel is very suggestive. For him "eternal" almost means "apart from time," i.e., divine. "Eternal life" is the divine life of the Kingdom. Eternal punishment is the opposite of eternal life. Eternal punishment—"the wrath of God"—is probably thought of as here and now and at any time: it is a spiritual state rather than a matter of time As often "John" seems to be silently correcting or completing the impressions of one or other of the Synoptists.

It is true that in 1 John iv. 17 the Day of Judgment is mentioned, and that in John iii. 36 the writer speaks of a type of person who, because he disobeys "the Son," will not enter into life, but God's anger abides upon or broods over him. Yet in John iii 16-19, viii 50, and probably xvi. 11, the stress is upon a judgment that is going on all the time.

"John's" idea that judgment is a life-long process, and that eternal life begins here on earth, confirms what has otherwise emerged in our consideration of the Kingdom, namely, that, even if its final perfection will be realized only in a future age, none the less is it the great social hope for this earth and this life. If there are any who choose to cast themselves out of the divine society, and so persist in this anti-social course that they ultimately destroy themselves, this, the only "unforgivable" sin, has results flatly contrary to the will of God, who so loved the world, that "*whosoever*" believes shall have the Life of the Ages.

That the Gospels contain a strong hope for the final redemption of all men is clear from such passages as the following:—

(a) John iii 16 (just quoted) which continues (vv 17 and 19):—
"God did not send his Son into the world to pass sentence on it, *but to save the world by him* And this is the sentence of condemnation, that the Light has entered the world, and yet men have preferred darkness to light."

(b) Luke xv. The joy over the finding of the lost sheep, the lost shilling, and the prodigal

(c) John i 29 "There is the Lamb of God who is to remove the sin of the world!"

(d) John xii. 31-32. "Now is this world to be judged; now will the Prince of this world be cast out But I, when I am lifted up from the earth, will draw *all men* to myself."

The ominous foreshadowings of eternal punishment met with in the Gospels may indeed be vivid warnings in pictorial oriental language stressing the supreme necessity of using every opportunity *now* If the idea of timelessness so characteristic of John's Gospel can be applied in any degree to the others, we see that "eternal punishment" really is the state of mind that loves darkness rather than light, and that the possibility of it is the inevitable risk taken in a world so run that man has the power of choice Paul looks to a day when evil shall have been finally overthrown and God shall be all in all, and this must be the final thought of any true revelation of a God of Love

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